PAPERS

OF THE

BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME

Vol. IX

PRINTED FOR THE SUBSCRIBERS AND SOLD ON THEIR BEHALF BY
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PREFACE

THE ninth volume of the *Papers of the British School at Rome,* though it has been prepared in the main since the conclusion of peace, has not been produced under entirely normal conditions, owing to the irregularities and difficulties of postal communication, and it is probable that the imperfections alluded to in the preface to the eighth volume may be found to be present in it, though in a lesser degree. Such as it is, however, we may hope that it will be accepted by our subscribers and by our friends both at home and abroad—and more especially by our Italian hosts—as an earnest of the renewed activity which the School hopes now to be able to display.

The first paper consists, as is fitting, of a biographical notice by Sir John Sandys of Dr. Steele of Florence, one of the oldest and best of the friends of the School, whose kindness and hospitality, as well as his not inconsiderable classical attainments, endeared him to many British scholars. It is followed by a valuable paper by Mr. G. F. Hill on the Roman medallists of the Renaissance, dealing with one branch of a subject which he has made peculiarly his own. In the third paper the Director contributes some additional information as to the history of the Palazzo Odescalchi, as the result of investigations made in the Boncompagni-Ludovisi archives by Signor Francesco Tomassetti. In the fourth Mr. Robert Gardner resumes his studies of the Roman road system of Southern Italy, and describes a portion of the highway running eastward from Rome to the Adriatic, the remainder of his article being reserved for the next volume.

The fifth paper, by the Director, is a contribution of a bibliographical nature to the study of the history of the famous collections of sculpture which adorned the city of Rome in the Renaissance period, and which only began to be dispersed in the eighteenth century—largely to the advantage of the great British private collections. In the sixth paper Monsignor Mann, Rector of the Beda College in Rome, the historian of the mediæval papacy, gives the results of his studies of the portraits of the Popes, which have an especial value owing to the destruction of most of the series which adorned the basilica of S. Paul's outside-the-Walls until the disastrous fire of 1823. Three short papers by the Assistant Director follow, each of them dealing with new or little-known material—an important relief which was the tombstone of a priest of Bellona, a Renaissance plaque with a portrait of Aristotle, and a book which was the gift of Cardinal Allen to the learned Gerald Vossius. The last two papers throw some light on the interesting subject of the history of our countrymen in Rome.

The volume closes with a valuable contribution from one of the newer Faculties of the School in the form of a series of drawings of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste by Mr. H. C. Bradshaw, the first Rome Scholar in Architecture of the School. A careful *état actuel* (in which surveys by Mr. Ernest Prestwich, also a student of the School, have been made use of) serves as the basis for an extremely fine series of reconstructions of this great sanctuary. A short text by Mr. Bradshaw will serve to elucidate the drawings. The close union between the various branches of study with which the School is now concerned is well illustrated by this publication, which, it is hoped, will be of interest to archaeologists as well as to architects and artists.

THOMAS ASHBY,
Director.

1st *June*, 1920.

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PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. I.

JAMES PEDDIE STEELE.

(4 *May*, 1836—16 *July*, 1917.)

BY SIR JOHN EDWIN SANDYS, LITT.D., F.B.A.

BY the death of Dr. Steele of Florence on the sixteenth day of July 1917, in the eighty-second year of his age, the British School of Archaeology in Rome has lost one of its earliest and most generous benefactors. It is therefore fitting that a grateful tribute to his memory should find a place among the *Papers* of the School.

James Peddie Steele was born at Dalkeith on 4 May, 1836. He was the son of the Rev. Peter Steele, for some time Rector of Dalkeith Grammar School.[1] As a boy of fourteen he won a prize for an English poem on the *Laocoon*. At the University of Edinburgh, where he took the degree of B.A. in 1859, his earliest distinctions were won in the field of the Greek and Latin Classics, in which he found a never failing source of inspiration and recreation during a large part of his long life. He attended the lectures of John Stuart Blackie, who, on his election to the Chair of Greek in 1853, was permitted to appoint an assistant lecturer to relieve him in some of the duties of his professorship. About 1860 the appointment was held for a short time by Steele, who was also associated with the 'Hellenic Society' founded among the younger men by Blackie, who 'held weekly meetings in the evening for reading through the Greek classics . . . for pure delight, and not for minute critical exercise.'[1] I am informed that Professor J. A. Stewart, of Oxford, who knew Dr. Steele, had as a boy heard William Veitch, one of the most accurate Greek scholars of Scotland, express a high opinion of his scholarship. Most of his energies were, however, devoted to preparation for his future profession, and, with this aim in view, he became an M.D. and an L.R.C.S. of Edinburgh in 1861.

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[1] Born 15 February, 1794; in the Rector's class of the Edinburgh High School until the death of Dr. Adam in 1809; teacher of a subscription school at Eccles, Berwickshire, 'where he taught Greek, Latin and English,' 1809–11; A.M. Edinburgh, 1818, in which year he produced in Edinburgh a revised and enlarged edition of Schrevelius; *Lexicon manuale gr. lat. et lat. gr.*, originally published at Leyden in 1661–70. He was familiar with Passow's Greek-German lexicon (ed. 1831) twelve years before the publication of the first edition of Liddell and Scott in 1843. As candidate for the Rectorship of Dalkeith Grammar School in 1826, he is described as 'fully qualified to fill the chairs of Latin, Greek, or Hebrew in any of our Universities,' and as already married (in 1825) to 'a wife of pleasing manners.' Her name was Eliza Peddie, the eldest daughter of James Peddie, architect (son of John Peddie, officer of excise, and Margaret Nicoll), born at Dundee 1776, died at Inverkeithing 1837. Some of these details I owe to one of Dr. Steele's friends in Florence, Mr. Walter Ashburner, who found them in a thin volume of certificates and testimonials among Dr. Steele's papers. We thus have proof of the varied learning of

From an obituary notice in *The Lancet* for 28 July, 1917, doubtless written by his valued friend, the editor, I learn that from Edinburgh he went to London in 1864 'partly as a physician, and partly as a journalist.'

> 'He was a sound classic, and in particular a famous Latinist, while he had a wide range of knowledge in history, art, and the development of his own profession. His leading articles appeared in some of the best known lay journals, as well as in *The Lancet*, and, in the former channels, could generally be detected alike by their old-fashioned and successful use of the Latin period, and by the advanced spirit of medical research which was always displayed in them.'

In the *Westminster Gazette* of 2 October, 1917, there was a charming

---

his father, and the 'pleasing manners' of his mother, and of the fact that it was to his mother's father that he owed his first two names, James Peddie.

His mother died in December, 1866. Notices of his father (privately reprinted by Dr. Steele) from the Edinburgh *Evening Courant*, 5 April, and *Daily Review*, 6 April, 1871 (lent to me by one of his nieces, Miss M. M. Hutton), show that at the Disruption, in 1843, the Rev. Peter Steele joined the Free Church and, having been ejected from the Rectorship of the School, opened an Academy at Dalkeith. In 1848 he became classical teacher at the Moray House Training College, Edinburgh, where he made himself master of Anglo-Saxon and of Norman-French in 1855, and also lectured on English literature. He died on 3 April, 1871. Of his seven children, the four who then survived were Mrs. Pietrocola-Rossetti (Mrs. L. B. Cole) in Florence; Mrs. James Browning, in St. Andrews; Mrs. David Hutton, in Liverpool; and Dr. Steele.

[1] J. S. Blackie, *Notes of a Life*, ed. A. Stodart Walker (1910), p. 137.

tribute to his memory, recalling his old Fleet Street days and his friendship with George Augustus Sala. I here quote a single paragraph :—

> '*Saving G. A. S.*'
>
> 'Dr. Steele was honorary member and "club-physician" of the old Arundel Club in Salisbury Street, when late hours were still known and Bohemia still abutted on the Strand or its contiguous thoroughfares, and he was afterwards balloted into the original Savage Club, when it was located in the upper room of the Covent Garden Hotel. There he probably saved the life of George Augustus Sala, engaged in a heated argument with an old enemy, by interposing his own person between the two when the other man was about, with all his force, to bring down a heavy chair upon Sala's head.'

About 1875 Dr. Steele, who (as I learn from the editor of *The Lancet*) was connected with several Italian families, went to Rome as a physician, but, from 1876 to 1879, he did not formally alter his London address. Possibly 'he did not at first intend' any 'permanent expatriation.'[1]

In 1876 Lady Louisa Le Poer Trench, daughter of the second Earl of Clancarty, sister of the third Earl, and widow of the Archbishop of Tuam's son, the Rev. W. Le Poer Trench, to whom she had been married on 26 December, 1830, and whom she had lost on 11 May, 1854, paid a visit to Rome in the company of her younger daughter. When the mother was taken ill at Rome, Dr. Steele was called in as her medical adviser. 'He cured the mother, and won the daughter'; but the mother decided that 'there must be no engagement—no meeting—no correspondence of any kind for a year.' When the year was over, Dr. Steele went to Ireland for his bride, and on the 13th of September, 1877, they were married. The following is the announcement which appeared in *The Times* for the 21st :—

> 'On the 13th inst., by special license, at the Castle, Ballyraggett (*sic*), the residence of Lady Harriet Kavanagh, by the Lord Bishop of Ossory, assisted by the Rev. Robert Le Poer McClintock, Rector of Castle Bellingham, cousin of the bride, James Peddie Steele, Esq., B.A., M.D. Edin., to Sarah Louisa, youngest daughter of the late Rev. William and Lady Louisa Le Poer Trench.'

The Bishop of Ossory came from his episcopal see in the not far distant county-town of Kilkenny to perform the ceremony, which took place in the drawing-room of the bride's aunt. The bride's mother died in 1881, and her aunt in 1885, and, of all who were present at the wedding, only three are now living, a nephew of the bride, one of the bridesmaids, and the lady's maid, Miss A. A. Elliott, who faithfully remained in the service of Mrs. Steele in Rome and Florence, and, on the death of Mrs. Steele, became a most devoted housekeeper to Dr. Steele for the rest of his life. She has kindly aided me in determining the dates, and in recording some of the characteristic facts, in her late master's beneficent career.

---

[1] In 1874 his London address was 13 Charlotte Street, Buckingham Gate, S.W. It was not until 1880 that his Roman address (21 Via Condotti) actually appeared in the *Medical Directory*.

When General Maxwell founded in Rome a charitable institution for the supply of artificial legs and arms for necessitous persons, it was Dr. Steele who 'gave his services most willingly and freely as medical adviser.' 'In his professional life he was just as generous as he was in his private capacity, and his carriage was always at the disposal of patients who could not afford to drive.'[1]

In the spring of 1879, Professor Blackie (who had already visited Rome for a year and a half in May, 1830) was bent on studying certain 'aspects of the agrarian question in Italy,' and, in particular, 'the lapse into malarial sterility of large tracts of what in ancient days was fruitful farm and garden land.' His former pupil and assistant, Dr. Steele, who was then settled at No. 21, Via Condotti, 'invited him to begin these studies as his guest, and promised him much of immediate interest in the world of archaeology and politics.' 'On May 3' Blackie 'reached Rome and his hosts in the Via Condotti. By this time he had cast his winter coat, and he fluttered into the capital in a suit of light tweed, and a white wideawake of the soft-crowned, wide-brimmed variety . . .' 'His visit to Dr. Steele came to an end about the middle of May,' when, for his second fortnight in Rome, 'he chose a lodging . . . in the topmost storey of No. 15, Piazza di Monte Vecchio,' whence he 'went for long walks in the Campagna and among the Alban hills.'[2]

In later years I was informed by Dr. Steele himself that he withdrew from the practice of his profession on finding that he was becoming liable to sudden attacks of giddiness in ascending the lofty stone staircases in the residences of his patients. This symptom he deemed too significant to be lightly disregarded. As I learn from one of his nieces,

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[1] Information derived from Miss Elliott, now living at Clones, Co. Monaghan, Ulster.

[2] Anna M. Stoddart, *John Stuart Blackie*, Edinburgh, ed. 1896, pp. 339–341.

Miss E. S. Browning, he had already withdrawn from practice on 20 December, 1882. It was in 1885 that, in the course of the Easter Vacation, Munro paid his last visit to Rome, staying at the *Hôtel Continental*. He was 'not in good health' when he reached Rome, and he 'suffered a good deal from *malaise*.' So said Dr. Steele, who saw him several times, and received from him a specially corrected copy of the second edition of *Sabrinae Corolla*, ultimately handed over to my informant, Mr. W. F. Smith, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. It was with Dr. Steele that Munro took his last walk in Rome; and it was under his friendly advice that Munro obtained the best professional attendance available during the illness which ended in his death on the 30th of March. No admirer of the great Latin scholar was keener in his resentment against any Teutonic attempts to detract from the credit due to his memorable edition of Lucretius.

In 1887, Dr. Steele decided on settling for the rest of his life in Florence, where the Steeles arrived in the year when the new façade of the Duomo was unveiled. In the autumn of that year they settled in No. 33, Via San Gallo, where Dr. Steele's friend, the Arabic scholar, Mr. Guy le Strange, found them when he himself and his wife went to live in Florence in 1888.

In 1891 Mrs. Steele produced the *Life of the Rt. Hon. Arthur Macmurrough Kavanagh* (1831–1889), M.P. for County Wexford and (until 1880) for County Carlow. As the son of Mr. Thomas Kavanagh of Borris by Lady Harriet Le Poer Trench, younger daughter of the second Earl of Clancarty, the hero of the story was the first cousin of Mrs. Steele, who, as Sarah Le Poer Trench, was the daughter of the Rev. William Le Poer Trench (son of the Archbishop of Tuam) by Lady Louisa Le Poer Trench, elder daughter of the second Earl.

It was a remarkable narrative of triumph over apparently insuperable physical disabilities which did not prevent his pursuing an adventurous and, socially and politically, beneficent career. In the preface the writer gratefully acknowledges the 'guidance and co-operation' of her husband, and it is easy to trace his hand in the classical mottoes at the head of not a few of the chapters, no less than seven of these apt quotations being derived from his favourite poet, Horace. In the course of the narrative she describes Mr. Kavanagh's reconstruction of the little town of Ballyragget, ten miles north of Kilkenny, and writes as follows of the place where (as we have seen above) she was married to Dr. Steele in the drawing-room of Mr. Kavanagh's mother :—

> The name to English ears may sound uncouth, but to many a lover of scenery it will pleasantly recall the broad Nore gliding silently through the rich pasture-land, the avenues of magnificent lime and beech trees, the ilex grove suggesting the beauty of an old Italian villa, and, towering over all, the well-preserved ruins of the gray feudal castle.[1]

It was nine years after the publication of this book in 1891, that, in the summer of 1900, the Steeles and the le Stranges met in Baden Aargau, a Swiss watering-place familiar to the ancient Romans, and also to visitors from Florence in the Revival of Learning. Mrs. Steele was then suffering from a serious illness, which terminated fatally in Florence on the 10th of July. In the words of one who was a constant inmate of their home, 'their married life was one long poem.'

After her death, Dr. Steele went to Rome for the winter of 1900 and the spring of 1901, and to Bagno a Ripoli[2] for the summer, returning to Florence early in September. In November he removed to No. 2, Via Pico della Mirandola, whence, under the operation of the Italian law of leases, he found it necessary to migrate, in 1910, to a 'less comfortable house' in a 'less eligible situation,'—No. 35 (subsequently numbered 53) Viale Milton,—a quiet street extending along the south bank of the Mugnone, looking northwards toward the double crest of the hill of Fiesole. In this, the last of his three residences in Florence, I remember observing that the staircase was adorned with a marble bust of his late wife. It was from this house that he sent me, on the 4th of March, 1914, a letter in which he quoted one of her expressive sayings in the course of a description of the severe winter which had scarcely passed away.

> The view, from my front windows, of the Pistoiese Apennines was that of a *bijou* Bernese Oberland, while Our Lady of Flowers posed, in ermine, as Our Lady of Snow. A few days of black *scirocco* (' heat without sun ; wind without air ; and rain without freshness,' as my dear wife described it), seemed to harbinger the spring ; but a fierce *tramontana* has brought back winter again, and the heights above Vallombrosa are white as fleece. But this must be winter's last rally !

Dr. Steele had already resided for some thirteen years in Florence before the founding of the British School in Rome in the winter of 1900–1.

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[1] P. 130 f. Lady Harriet Kavanagh died in July, 1885 (*ib.* p. 261 f.).

[2] A few miles S.E. of Florence.

His early interest in that School cannot be better described than in the language of its first Director, Mr. G. McN. Rushforth.

> It was in January, 1901, that I made the acquaintance of Dr. Steele in Rome, whither I had come in the preceding November to start the British School. In and after that year he was accustomed to leave Florence in the middle of the winter, and make a prolonged stay in Rome, living with an old friend. He liked to recall his former life there—the delights of the summer nights, when all the tourists had gone, and the world awoke at sunset; or the meetings of the 'Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica' (as it was then called), when Henzen and Mommsen and De Rossi were in their prime. In 1901, he was, I think, specially attracted by the new School, in which he had taken the keenest interest from its inception. After a habitation had been found on the second floor of the Palazzo Odescalchi, the most pressing need of the School was a Library, and at the very beginning Dr. Steele, through his friend, Professor Pelham, offered a large selection, from his own well-stocked shelves, of classical and archaeological books, together with a certain amount of more general literature, which he thought would be useful to a British institution in Italy. Moreover, he presented a number of handsome bookcases in which some of his volumes might be housed. It was from this nucleus that the present well-equipped Library of the School has been developed. I well remember the days in March, 1901, when the books arrived from Florence, and he helped me to unpack and arrange them, making all the while characteristic comments on their contents and authors. Dr. Steele was a well-read and genial scholar, but his favourite work was Plutarch's *Lives*; and this was represented in the library by a number of editions and translations.[1]
>
> Two characteristics of Dr. Steele have impressed themselves on my memory. He was a fine example of that type of Briton who had made Italy his residence, and was really more at home there than in England, but never lost an atom of his sturdy nationality. The other point was his capacity for enjoying life to the full. And, I may add, he was most happy when helping others to enjoy it with him. He was at his best when he gathered congenial and cultured friends round his hospitable board, or when he conducted them to some scene of historic interest, at which times also the good things of this life were not neglected. I recall a characteristic occasion when he took an appreciative party (including Professor Pelham and myself) to Ostia, and a long morning's sight-seeing was followed by a picnic-lunch in the grounds of Castel Fusano and a walk through the pine woods to the sea.
>
> One of the last times that I saw him was as a guest at his house in Florence in the spring of 1912, when one evening he gathered round his table Comparetti, Hülsen, Walter Ashburner, W. F. Smith, and others, and the talk was worthy of the men and, I may add, of the wine. He liked 'good living' in the best sense of the term, but he had also an undying belief in the value of knowledge; and he would insist on the importance, even from the medical point of view, of feeding the brain, as well as the body, if the vitality of the human organism was to be maintained in the

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[1] Among the large number of books presented by Dr. and Mrs. Steele was a copy of Littré's great edition of Hippocrates in ten volumes. Naturally it was not so much in demand as works closely connected with Roman archaeology. My informant, Mr. W. F. Smith, 'found it in solitary grandeur on the topmost shelf of a book-case,' and was told, by way of consolation for the trouble he took to reach it in its almost inaccessible position, that Boni and he 'were the only people who had ever consulted it.' My own feeling is that this fact fully justifies the gift (J.E.S.).

face of advancing years. The memory of that stalwart but genial nature, of that set purpose to extract all that was best from life, has helped us to traverse those gloomy days which he just lived to see, but by which he would never have been daunted.

Dr. Steele had been the special correspondent of *The Lancet* during his residence in Rome which ended (as we have seen) in 1887. On his removal to Florence, he continued to discharge that duty, and, incidentally to give repeated proofs of his abiding interest in the Latin language, even in its latest international developments. Some of these proofs came to my own personal knowledge. Thus, on 9 December, 1892, the correspondent of *The Lancet* sent to that periodical a brilliant account of the great international celebration of the Galileo Tercentenary at Padua. I was then unaware of its authorship, but I afterwards saw how characteristic it was of my future friend to record the satisfaction with which the Latin address sent by Cambridge had been welcomed by 'the compatriots of Livy.'[1]

Again, the honour conferred on 25 August, 1898, on Camillo Golgi at the Cambridge meeting of the International Congress of Zoology and Physiology, was described in *The Lancet* as 'warmly welcomed by the medical profession in Italy.'[2] Lastly, the publication of my *Orationes et Epistolae* on 6 May, 1910, was followed, to my surprise, by a long article in *The Lancet* of 4 June, in which the internal evidence led to the friendly reviewer being easily identified as Dr. Steele.[3]

It was not until the spring of 1911 that I made Dr. Steele's personal acquaintance. During the Easter Vacations of 1911 and 1912 my wife and I spent nearly the whole of our holiday in the suburbs of Florence at the *Hôtel les Lunes* beyond San Gervasio, and at the *Aurora* on the hill of Fiesole. It was at Dr. Steele's house in the Viale Milton that, in 1911, we met the celebrated historian, Pasquale Villari, then in the eighty-fifth year of his age, and it was from the same house that I went with my friend Mr. W. F. Smith, to call on the distinguished scholar, Domenico Comparetti, then at the age of seventy-seven. Both of these were Senators of Italy; Villari was already a Corresponding Fellow of the British Academy, while Comparetti was (on my own proposal) elected in 1916. On hearing of that well-deserved distinction, Dr. Steele wrote to me in terms which exemplify the international influence he happily used in the interests of classical scholarship and historic learning.

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[1] *The Lancet*, 17 Dec., 1892, p. 1417, quoted in note to *Orationes et Epistolae Cantabrigienses*, No. 548.

[2] *The Lancet*, 10 September, 1898, p. 723, quoted *ibid*. No. 296.

[3] See also *The Lancet* for 7 September, 1912, p. 705 f. (on the honorary degrees of 19 July).

> Nothing pleases him more than the recognition of English scholars, and, whenever any of these, known to me, arrive in Florence, I always invite him to meet them under my roof, or at the club. It was at such a *symposium* that Comparetti met Henry Pelham, who proposed him for the Oxford degree of D.C.L.—an honour which was also bestowed on Pasquale Villari after a similar *rencontre*.

Among the means of social intercourse enjoyed by Dr. Steele in Florence, in and after 1909, was the 'walking party' founded by himself and an American scholar, Mr. Ashburner, late Fellow of Merton. It was formed of friends who went every Thursday to Fiesole or elsewhere, had luncheon together, and made an excursion or not (as they felt inclined) to various points of interest. The number varied from three to a dozen and the luncheon was varied by all kinds of conversation.

Late in February, 1913, I sent him a single copy of the words spoken in presenting Mr. le Strange for an honorary degree in the Senate House of Cambridge. Dr. Steele's graphic description of the way in which he had caused this copy to be circulated in the city and in the suburbs of Florence might well have suggested a set of hendecasyllables in the manner of Catullus or Martial :—

> I lost no time in passing on your *oratio* to Ashburner, who is taking it out this afternoon to Mr. Ninian H. Thompson, our great Machiavellian scholar, from whom it will go the rounds of all Guy's surviving friends in Florence, *et quantum est hominum venustiorum*.

During the summer months Dr. Steele repeatedly became tenant of a finely situated villa known as Sant' Antonio on the north-eastern outskirts of Tivoli. The villa has had a literature of its own ever since it became, for five and twenty years, the residence of its late owner, Mr. F. A. Searle, a brother of the late Master of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Mr. Searle wrote a number of papers on the ancient associations of Tivoli and its neighbourhood, some of which were delivered as lectures before the 'British and American Society of Rome.' Under the title of *Sketches of Tivoli* these papers were collected in a small quarto volume of 133 pages, with nine illustrations, printed at the

Victoria Press, Rome, in 1906. The preface was written by Miss Edgecumbe Edwardes, a friend of the Benson family, and of Mr. Searle and Dr. Steele.

After the death of Mr. Searle, the villa became the property of his daughter, Mrs. G. H. Hallam of Harrow. Mr. Hallam has added to the literature of the villa an interesting monograph under the title of 'Horace's Villa at Tivoli,' published in the *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. iv (1914), where Mr. Searle's arguments in favour of the opinion that the Villa was on the same site as one of the residences of Horace are stated with precision and are further reinforced.

Such was the pleasant retreat in which Dr. Steele delighted from time to time in gathering his friends around him in the late summer or in the autumn. As a lover of Horace, he was keenly alive to all the Horatian associations of the place, and of the Sabine country in the immediate neighbourhood. He had been the first to show Henry Pelham the site of Horace's Sabine farm, looking down on the valley of the ancient *Digentia* which flows into the Anio below Vicovaro, a site which has been made familiar by Milman's *Life of Horace* and by Boissier's *Nouvelles Promenades Archéologiques*. On a visit to the Volscian hills he had similarly accompanied Pelham who (to quote a letter from Dr. Steele) had 'found the group replete with attraction in a reperusal of the first ten books of Livy.'

I recall with pleasure a visit paid to Dr. Steele at Sant' Antonio by my wife and myself in the autumn of 1912, when our rooms, as we looked across the deep gorge of the river, commanded a glorious view of the Temple of Vesta and the Falls of the Anio, and when our days were partly spent in visiting the Villa of Hadrian, or the Tomb of the Plautii, or some of the nearest of the aqueducts of the Campagna. The seven days' stay at Tivoli was followed by a long drive extending over three days, to Subiaco and Olevano and Palestrina, and so back to the hospitable villa of our genial host. In a letter of 4 July, 1912, he had described this last excursion as one which his guests had 'always enjoyed, well-nigh unique as it is, even in Italy, for landscape at once bold and tender, and for monuments, classical and mediaeval, redolent of the most august associations.' Few things delighted our host more than the Horatian associations of his *villeggiatura* at Tivoli. In more than one of his letters to myself, he described his enjoyment of the view immediately before his eyes in a line of his own composition followed by an apt quotation from Horace (*Ep.* i. 10, 50) :—

> Prospiciens Anienis aquas et Tiburis umbram,
> Excepto quod non simul esses, cetera laetus.[1]

The Times for 13 November, 1912, included a letter from Dr. Steele on the claims of Italian as a subject of study in England, in the course of which he quoted part of a poem on the 'Praises of Venice,' in which every word is good Latin and good Italian, beginning with the lines :—

> Te saluto, alma Dea, Dea generosa,
> O gloria nostra, o Veneta regina !

One of his favourite authors was the modern Latin poet and historian, George Buchanan. At his house in Florence he kept a folio volume of that eminent Scotsman's works on the top of his revolving book-case. In a letter of 3 June, 1912, he told me that 'during professional life,' he had kept in touch with Latin and Greek 'only through the Greek Bible and Buchanan's *Psalms*.' In view of the proposed celebration in 1906 of the fourth centenary of Buchanan's birth, he offered to the *alumni* of the four universities of Scotland a prize of a hundred guineas for the best essay on 'Sixteenth century Humanism, as illustrated by the life and work of George Buchanan'; the prize was won by Mr. T. D. Robb, whose essay was published in the 'Glasgow Quatercentenary Studies' in 1907. He also printed an original Alcaic Ode in his honour.

His interest in the study of Horace prompted him to make a special study of the Alcaic Odes, and from time to time he printed odes of his own in that metre for private circulation. 'For some years before his death,' as has been stated by Professor Harrower of Aberdeen, 'his friends had urged him to collect his verses into book form, but his taste was so exacting and his modesty so great, that he found great difficulty in complying with their wish.' He had, however, collected several of these odes, which he caused to be put into type. One of the most remarkable is the ode in which Horace welcomes Burns to the land of the famous. Conducted by Horace, Burns is introduced first to Virgil; and then to Catullus, Propertius, Ovid and Tibullus, and, last of all, to his compatriot Buchanan, beside whom, at the Olympic banquet, he witnesses the assembling of the immortal guests, from Jove himself to the attendant Hebe with her store of nectar. Among the more serious poems is the last, an English rendering of the elegiac lines written by Pope Leo XIII. a few days before his death, beginning with the words :—*Fatalis ruit hora.* But, in the present pages, the most fitting ending to this brief mention of his poems is the tasteful translation of the Latin hexameters, which the poet Gray, in sending them to West on 21 April, 1741, himself introduces as follows : 'The place and its charming prospects demand a poetical farewell, and here it is.' The heading to Dr. Steele's rendering is 'A farewell to Florence,' but it is clearly 'A farewell to the view of Fiesole, from Florence,' the 'prospects' rather than the 'place' itself.

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[1] Cp., in general, my letter on 'Dr. Steele of Florence,' in the *Literary Supplement* of *The Times* for 2 August, 1917, p. 369.

O hills of summer coolness, Faesulae,
   The zephyr's haunt, by Pallas' boon, you shine
Ensilvered with her own grey glistening tree,
   The jewel of Etruscan Apennine!
   No more from Arno shall the joy be mine
Your villas and verandahs to admire
   Around your forehead circling, line on line,
To see your Dome[1] outsoar the cypress spire
And roof o'er rustic roof hang higher still and higher.

Of the characteristic olive-trees and cypresses mentioned in the poet's farewell to the view of Fiesole, the olives appear once more in the *olivetum Faesulanum* of Dr. Steele's Sapphic Ode to Arthur Balfour, while his Alcaic Ode to Villari on his eightieth birthday ends with the prayer that, at long last, 'Flora, who giveth her name to our city of Florence, may spread her mantle of lilies on his cypress-shaded tomb.'

Dr. Steele had fully intended spending part of the summer and autumn of 1917 at Tivoli, but he stayed on in Florence on purpose to attend to his nonagenarian sister. Early in June Mr. le Strange had lately heard from a friend that 'Dr. Steele was as young and as hospitable as ever.' On Sunday, 15 July, he went out to Settignano (a few miles south-east of Fiesole), where he called on Mrs. Janet Ross at the fine old castellated villa of Poggio Gherardo. This has been identified as the palace described by Boccaccio as the scene of the first day of the *Decamerone*, standing 'on a small hill equidistant on all sides from any road. . . . In the centre was a pleasant and large courtyard, with arcades and halls and rooms,'[1] and with other attractions which have since disappeared. Mrs. Ross has herself given us, in her *Old Florence and Modern Tuscany*, a view of the square battlemented castle with its cypresses and olive-trees standing at a due distance from its walls.[2] In her *Reminiscences* she has since discoursed on the above passage of Boccaccio; she has described, first to the author of *Eothen* and now to her readers, 'the wonderful view' from the terrace, and the 'splendid art-memories of Settignano and Maiano';[3] and, in the frontispiece of that work, has enabled us to realise her own presence, seated at her writing-desk, in front of a wall crowded with many precious little objects of painting or of sculpture in the room in which she may well have received Dr. Steele on that Sunday afternoon.

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[1] The introduction of the word 'Dome' is possibly due to the influence of a passage in Eustace's *Classical Tour* (iii, 28), but it is the view of Florence from Fiesole, and not that of Fiesole from Florence, which is meant by Eustace in the words :—'Above these rises the *dome* of the cathedral.' The cathedral of Fiesole has a tall and slender tower but no 'dome.' Gray's own word is *Aedes*, which suggests 'Fane' rather than 'Dome.'

After tea, Dr. Steele rose to leave and began fumbling for his spectacle-case: a change came over his face while he simply said, 'Send for Elliott' (his house-keeper). He immediately became unconscious. He died at the villa on the next morning, and was buried in the Florentine cemetery two days later.

Dr. Steele's abiding interest in the Library of the British School in Rome is proved by a letter written to myself from Sant' Antonio, on 27 July, 1916:

> I came here for *villeggiatura* for one reason among others—to see how the Library of the British School (of which library I am credited with being the founder!) has fared in its new quarters. But I find it is still stored away in boxes awaiting release from such durance when the conclusion of peace will admit of the School's resuming work in the building reserved for it.

There is good reason for believing that he formed the design of bequeathing to the Library the choicest of his books, so far as they were appropriate to that destination. In the summer of 1913 he lost his nephew, who was in medical practice at Southport and Birkdale. The nephew was an executor under his will, and (as he said in writing to myself) he was much occupied in England and on his return to Italy with legal business due to his nephew's death. Any changes that he may then have made in his own will were possibly only temporary and provisional; and, apparently, he did not arrange for the carrying out of his design in favour of the British School.

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[1] Text on p. 24, ed. Michele Scherillo, Milan, 1914.

[2] View facing p. 156 (1904).

[3] *The Fourth Generation, Reminiscences*, 1912, pp. 287–9.

Nearly seventy small quarto pages of the above-mentioned Verse Compositions were standing in type at the time of his death. Instructions to bind twenty copies were thereupon given to Messrs. Pillans and Wilson, publishers, of 82 Hanover Street, Edinburgh, who happily asked Professor Harrower to write a brief biographical preface.

From the preface I learn that Dr. Steele had a great scheme for a *Lyra Scotica*, which he was ready to finance, and which he had asked Professor Harrower to edit—a collection of the best Greek and Latin verses by Scotsmen.

Apart from this preface, the Professor paid a tribute to his memory in the *Scottish Historical Review* for October, 1917, from which I cull a few phrases, arranging them in my own order:—

> He was 'one of the last of a good old type, the scholarly physician.' 'In general literature he preferred the old and well tried. Dante was to him more than any of the moderns.' 'A Scot to the backbone,' he 'knew his "Sir Walter" as few do nowadays.'
>
> His rare geniality and charm of manner endeared him to his friends, and those who had the pleasure of being his guests at one of the periodic luncheons of the old 'Walking Party' at Fiesole realised with admiration the full import of the old words, 'A kindly Scot.'
>
> He was a stout upholder of the old learning against modern tendencies in education. The title of an article on 'The passing of Latin,' he once said, went to his heart like a knife. But he was no old-fashioned scholar; he was one of the most enthusiastic and generous supporters of the British School of Archæology at Rome, and deeply interested in questions of Horatian topography.

Dr. Steele was an occasional contributor to the *Scotsman*, and, in a notice written by the Rome Correspondent of the *Morning Post*, he is justly described as 'an ardent Unionist.' In the article already quoted, the editor of *The Lancet* describes him as 'a beneficent supporter of many religious and educational movements, both in Italy and at home. He was a learned, witty, and modest man, and, throughout his life, all his thoughts and actions were inspired in the most practical manner by his devotion to the doctrines of the Established Church.'

'In Florence he was a well-known figure in Holy Trinity Church, and a warm friend of Canon Knollys, besides being generous in all things relating to the church,' to which he gave two beautiful stained-glass windows, one of them in memory of Mrs. Steele.[1]

The words once spoken by an admirer of his father may be applied with equal truth to himself. We may say of this scholarly son of a scholarly father :—

> The noblest features of his character remain to be mentioned. His unassuming simplicity, his genial humour lighting up (as it frequently did) his noble face, his great humility, endeared him to all who knew him.[2]

The opening lines of the Shakespearean motto, which he prefixed to the memoir here quoted, are no less appropriate to himself :—

O, good old man, how well in thee appears
The constant service of the antique world.

In the world of classical scholarship, his widely diversified learning, and his genial, kind, and unpretending personality, had a distinctly international value. During the forty-two years of his residence in Italy, he was, among classical scholars, a living link between the land of his birth and the land of his adoption. Like another resident in Florence, whose happy influence is gratefully recorded on a tablet in the Via Maggio beside the Casa Guidi windows,

fece . . . aureo anello fra Italia e Inghilterra.

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[1] Information derived from Miss Elliott.

[2] Memoir of the Rev. Peter Steele, p. 19.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. 2.

THE ROMAN MEDALLISTS OF THE RENAISSANCE TO THE TIME OF LEO X.

BY G. F. HILL, F.B.A.

THERE was not, properly speaking, a Roman School of Medallists before the middle of the sixteenth century, and when at last something like a school could be said to have been established at Rome, the art had fallen to so low a level, in every respect except that of technique, that it had become nearly devoid of interest. The medallists who worked there from the time of Nicholas V. were almost, if not quite, without exception immigrants from other cities such as Florence or Mantua. The work of this artistic *colluvies gentium*, however, received a certain definite impress from the surroundings in which they lived. There may not be a Roman style, but there is a Roman atmosphere, and the relations of the artists with the Papal court give a certain continuity of interest which it is worth while to try and trace.

The commonest of all Italian medals are to be found in the long series of portraits of the Popes. One of these series, with fancy likenesses of St. Peter's successors down to John XXII. (1410–17), rude castings of no artistic value, was made at some time in the sixteenth century, and is said to be the work of a Milanese, Giovanni Battista Pozzi. More respectable in regard to workmanship is the series of Popes from Martin V. (1417–31) to Pius V. (1566–1572), struck from dies by Giovanni Paladino. The portraits on this series are copied from authentic likenesses, but only the latest of the series have any value as contemporary documents. Both these medallists worked towards the end of the sixteenth century, one of them supplementing the other, and they need be mentioned only in order to give warning against the too frequent use that is made of their work as contemporary evidence.

Apart from a small piece[1] struck from dies, and commemorating the presence of Eugenius IV. at the Florentine Council in 1439, which hardly concerns us here, as it is on too small a scale to aim at portraiture, the earliest medal of a Pope made by a contemporary medallist represents Nicholas V. (1447–55), although it was not made actually in his lifetime. The artist was Guaccialotti of Florence. Since it is now practically certain that the greatest of Italian medallists, Pisanello, who ended his days in October, 1455,[2] was in Rome at the time, we might have hoped for a portrait of Nicholas from his hand. But the only evidence that the Pope may have sate to him is of doubtful validity. In the collection of drawings in the Louvre[3] which contains the great majority of authentic studies by the master, there is a record by some one who was contemplating a medal of Nicholas. A sketch for a medal represents Atlas bearing the globe; to the left are crossed keys; to the right, a tiara; above, the words NICOLAVS · PAPA V are set out in a circle. I do not feel certain that the style of the drawing is Pisanello's; and I have not found the watermark (a pair of shears) on any other paper used by the artist, although it is of his time.[4] We know nothing of Pisanello's activity from 1449, when he was still working at the court of Alfonso the Magnanimous at Naples, until his death six years later; and though it is a fair conjecture, it is no more than a conjecture that he may have been attracted to Rome by a commission from the Pope.

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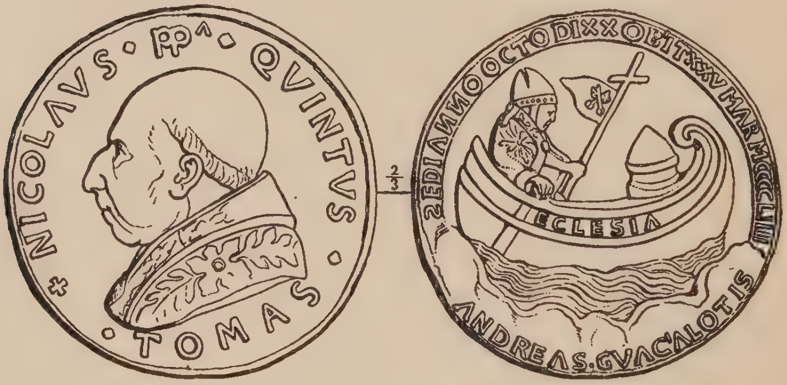
[1] Martinori (*Annali della Zecca di Roma*, Martino V., etc., 1918, p. 46), who appears to know this piece only from the illustration in Bonanni (*Numismata Pontificum Romanorum*, 1699) makes the surprising statement that it is in all probability a restitution by Paladino. He says that it is later than Eugenius IV. because, as he assumes, the shield with the crossed keys which balances that with the arms of Eugenius is the shield of Nicholas V., whereas it is, of course, merely the arms of the see of St. Peter. (Nicholas, having no arms of his own, adopted the same device for his shield.) A glance at the illustrations in Friedländer, *Die geprägten Italienischen Medaillen*, p. 13, Pl. I., 8 (silver, 31 mm., Berlin Collection) or in Catal. G. C. Rossi (1883), lot 203, Tav. III. (gold, 32 mm.) will show the impossibility of the attribution to Paladino. The piece was perhaps struck at Florence rather than Rome.

[2] Gius. Biadego, *Atti del R. Ist. Ven.* lxvii, p. 850.

[3] Recueil Vallardi, fol. 65, no. 2319; reproduced in Heiss, *Méd. de la Ren.*, *Vittore Pisano*, p. 38.

[4] Hill, *Pisanello*, p. 211. The argument from the water-mark against Pisanello's authorship is, it must be admitted, weak, since we have no other drawings which we can say were done by him later than 1449, and in Rome he may have obtained a new stock of paper.

The medal of Nicholas that has survived (Fig. 1)[1] was cast by Andrea Guaccialotti or Guazzalotti of Prato, presumably very soon after the Pope's death. A heavy, lumpish work, it is the earliest extant effort of the artist. Guaccialotti was born in 1435, so that he was but little more than twenty years old at the time.[2] He was the son of Filippo Guaccialotti, and belonged to an old and respectable family of Florentine citizens domiciled at Prato. At some time he entered the household of Niccolò Palmieri, bishop of Orte, of whom he has left an interesting portrait medal. He held the post of papal Scriptor, and was also canon of Prato and priest of Ajolo (Iolo) near that city. With these clerical offices he combined considerable activity as a bronze founder and medallist.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SEDIANNOOCTODIXXOBITXXV MAR MCCCLIIII
ECLESIA
ANDREAS.GVACALOTIS

FIG. 1.—NICHOLAS V. BY ANDREA GUACCIALOTTI.

The medal of Nicholas bears on the reverse a design of the Pope seated in a ship inscribed ECLESIA; he holds the helm in his right hand, and in his left a cross, to which is attached a pennon charged with the crossed-keys. The inscription states that the Pope reigned eight years and twenty days, and died 25 Mar., 1454 (1455 N.S.). The signature is ANDREAS GVACIALOTIS. Everything about the medal, composition, conception, lettering, is coarse and amateurish, though unaffected and sincere enough. By the time when he came to make his next medal, that of Calixtus III. (1455–1458), the artist's technique had manifestly improved, although the medal itself is of small interest, except as the only contemporary medallic portrait of the Pope (Pl. II. 1). The reverse bears the Papal arms and the inscription ALFONSVS BORGIA GLORIA ISPANIE. Guaccialotti's third medal, representing Pius II. (1458–64), was cast in 1460, and follows on the same lines as its predecessor, with portrait and coat of arms (Pl. I. 1, rev.). At some other time in the same reign he did a second medal of the Pope (Pl. I. 2), with an interesting portrait, and a reverse—the Pelican in her Piety—which is copied straight from Pisanello's medal of Vittorino da Feltre. It is evident that the inscription originally read *Ales ut hec cordis pavit de sanguine natos*; but no specimen with this reading has been preserved; the verb was at an early stage altered from the third to the first person singular, and the T replaced by a rosette.[1]

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[1] From Friedländer, *Ital. Schaumünzen* (1882), p. 134.

[2] For his biography see J. Friedländer, *Andreas Guacialoti von Prato* (1857), and the same author's *Italienische Schaumünzen* (1882), pp. 130 f.

The medals of Calixtus and Pius are unsigned, but are clearly by the same hand as later signed medals; and even if the evidence of style did not suffice, we have an epigram of Giov. Antonio Campana—a bishop who frequented the court of Pius—which proves that Guaccialotti made medals of that Pope:

> 'aere Pium Andrea caelas Pratensis et auro,
> vivo ut credatur vivus in aere loqui.'

There are no contemporary medals of Pius other than the two which we have described.

This study is not concerned with the work of Roman medallists as coin-engravers. It is perhaps however not inappropriate to mention that the latest writer[2] on the Roman mint suggests that Guaccialotti may have engraved dies for the coinage of Calixtus III.; but, as he himself admits, the suggestion lacks the support of documents.

For some reason unknown to us Guaccialotti did not work for Paul II.; no medal, at any rate, from his hand relating to this Pope has survived. We shall find him again at work in Rome under Sixtus IV. But two pieces must be mentioned before we dismiss the earlier period in his career. At some time before 1467 he made the medal of his patron

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[1] In his medal of Nicholas V. also the artist seems to have had trouble with his verbs, which he writes SEDI . . . OB^{I}IT.

[2] Edoardo Martinori, *Annali della Zecca di Roma*, Nicolò V., etc., p. 32.

Niccolò Palmieri, which has come down to us in two forms. The earlier, undated, does not name the sitter; the undraped, tonsured bust is surrounded by the motto *Nudus egres*(*s*)*us sic redibo* (Pl. I. 3). On the reverse, which bears the signature in the same form as on the medal of Pope Nicholas, is a nude male figure, a cloak hanging at his back, standing on an architectural corbel, resting on a spear, and holding an hourglass. The lettering[1] and form of signature seem to point to a date fairly close to the medal of Pope Nicholas. Examples of the medal in this form are rare.[2] But when Palmieri died, Guaccialotti engraved on a specimen the following additional inscriptions: on the obverse, *Nicolaus Palmerius Siculus eps. Ortan*(*us*); on the reverse, *Vix*(*it*) *an*(*nos*) *LXV, obiit A.D. M° CCCCLXVII* and *Contubernalis B.F.* (for *benemerito fecit*). He presumably therefore, still counted himself a member of the bishop's household.[3] Many casts based on this engraved piece were made, so that the medal in this form is common.

Another medal made in Rome at some time between 1453 and 1461 has with good reason been ascribed to Guaccialotti (Pl. II. 2). It represents the famous archbishop of Rouen and reformer of the University of Paris, Guillaume d'Estouteville. The inscription describes him as Archbishop of Rouen, but not as Bishop of Ostia, thus limiting the period within which the medal might have been cast. The workmanship is neater than is usual with Guaccialotti, which led Friedländer to hesitate in suggesting the attribution. But we may note in favour of the suggestion that the reverse inscription *Gloria Francor*(*um*) recalls the

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[1] The peculiar G is found elsewhere only on the medal of Nicholas. Λ for A is, however, common to all Guaccialotti's early medals.

[2] Those in the British Museum (here Pl.I. 3) and in Mr. T. W. Greene's collection are the only specimens recorded.

[3] When the bishop died, Guaccialotti placed in the church of S. Agostino (or rather, as Dr. A. W. van Buren suggests, in the chapel of that name which preceded the church built in 1483) a slab, with the bishop's portrait and an inscription which ended to this effect: *Vix. ann. LXV. men. XI. dies XXIX. obiit anno Dni. MCCCCLXVII. Andreas Pratensis ab eo liberaliter educatus benemerit. f.* (L. Schrader, *Mon. Ital.* p. 125 v°. combined with V. Forcella, *Iscriz. delle Chiese*, v. p. 13, no. 25). This monument has unfortunately disappeared, but the existing copies of the inscription give the correct interpretation of the *B.F.* of the medal. I owe many thanks to Dr. van Buren for investigating the records of this memorial, and sending me transcripts of the MS. copies by Galletti and Gualdi in the Vatican library; unfortunately, the slab (which was in the pavement of the left nave) was evidently much worn when those copies were made, for they vary considerably and neither of them gives the artist's signature. The medal in its revised form is described by Fontanini, *de Antiquitatibus Hortae* (1723), lib. ii. cap. vii. p. 301, from a specimen in his own collection.

Gloria Ispanie of the Calixtus, and that the nude genius holding the Estouteville arms stands, like the figure on the medal of Palmieri, on an architectural corbel. The handling of the relief is also in Guaccialotti's manner, and the lettering not unlike.

From 1464 onwards it would appear that the medallist lived mostly at Prato. There are extant letters written by him to Lorenzo de' Medici in 1478; one of them accompanied four medals which he had cast from a model by Bertoldo di Giovanni. Friedländer conjectured that these were specimens of the medal of Mohammad II., because, when he wrote, that was the only medal known to have been made by Bertoldo. Since, however, Bode's attribution to Bertoldo of the medal commemorating the Pazzi Conspiracy of 26 Apr., 1478 is generally accepted, we may with more probability assume that this is the piece referred to. The date of the letter (11 Sept., 1478) gives ample time for the execution of the model. In any case, the Mohammad medal is ruled out if, as Fabriczy[1] says, the portrait of the Sultan is copied from Bellini's medal, which dates from 1480.

Here for the present we may leave Guaccialotti at Prato, and consider what was happening at Rome during his absence.

The medals of Paul II. (1464–71)[2] differ from those which we have already discussed in having a more official character. The former, one feels, are just as much private personal medals as those of any other ruler of the time. But Paul's medals are more concerned with his activities as Pope than with his personality. We have, in fact, an anticipation of the official Papal medal of the sixteenth century. Fortunately, the art has the freshness of the quattrocento, and in surveying it we do not look out on the depressing dead level of conception which characterises the Papal series from the time of the Bonzagnas onward. Among the subjects commemorated are the building activities of the Pope, including his work on the Palazzo di S. Marco and the Tribune of St. Peter's, perhaps also work planned but only partially carried out on the Capitol or Castel Sant'Angelo; the re-organisation of the Roman University; the elaboration of the Carnival festivities; the part played by him in securing the Peace of Italy; the reception of a Maronite deputation in 1469; and the

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[1] *Ital. Medals*, trans. Hamilton, p. 110. I do not feel sure that he is right.

[2] I have discussed these very fully, and illustrated all known varieties, in the *Numism. Chronicle*, 4th ser. vol. x. (1910), and must refer to that paper for details.

Consistory in which the heretic king of Bohemia, George Podiebrad, was condemned in Dec., 1466. Medals were definitely made for the purpose of burying in the foundations of buildings, where many of them have since been found. Even before his accession to the Papacy, Pier Barbò had ordered for the same purpose a neat little medal with his portrait and two different reverses; the one (Pl. II. 3) bears his arms as Cardinal, the other a view of the Palazzo di S. Marco, and both have the same inscription *Has aedes condidit anno Christi MCCCCLV*. The artist of this medal is unknown, none of the attributions hitherto suggested having any plausibility. Nor does it seem possible as yet to identify the artist of the group of medals bearing similar types to the medal of 1455 (but differing from it in style) which Paul caused to be made ten years later. These commemorate the foundation of a building which is described as *arx*[1] and also the foundation of *aedes*, by which is meant, as before, the Palazzo di S. Marco (Pl. II. 5). Connected with these medals by the use of a common obverse is a reverse design of *Letitia Scholastica* (Pl. II. 7), a female figure in the pose and carrying the attribute (a flower) of the classical Spes, accompanied by two small scholars. Below are the letters A · BO·, which, there is little doubt, give the signature of Aristotile Fioravante da Bologna. This man is said to have been employed at the Roman Mint; certainly he was accused at a later date (1473) of issuing false coins; still later, having gone to Russia in 1475, he was employed as engraver to the Mint at Moscow. Fioravante may then be responsible for this reverse design, though it does not necessarily follow that he made the obverse to which it is attached. Another of the reverse types of Paul, representing *Hilaritas Publica*, may perhaps, on the ground of style, be attributed to the same hand. Fioravante was an architect who specialised in the art, by no means confined to American engineers, of transporting buildings bodily; thus he successfully moved the Torre della Magione at Bologna, and Paul is said, only a few hours before his death, to have been consulting him on the removal of the obelisk from the Neronian Circus to the Piazza of St. Peter's.[2]

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[1] I had presumed that *arx* must refer to the Castel Sant' Angelo. But Dr. Ashby points out that 'condidit' would hardly apply to Paul's work, whatever it may have been, on that fortress, and that the Palazzo Veneto, with its towers, may fairly be described as an 'arx.'

[2] Martinori, *Ann. della Zecca di Roma*, Paolo II. p. 7.

Tradition—going back as far as the second edition of Vasari, 1568—says that Bartolommeo Bellano of Padua made a medal of Paul. It is impossible to find in any of the medals of the Pope the slightest resemblance in style to the only medals which can reasonably be assigned to Bellano, those of Antonio Roselli and Bartolommeo Cepola;[1] and Vasari's statement may be dismissed as one of the "infinite bugie" with which, in the words of a contemporary, he crammed his second edition.

On the other hand, in Cristoforo di Geremia of Mantua we undoubtedly have the author of a number of medals of the Pope, as well as of other persons, and an artist of considerable interest, if uneven merit.[2]

The date of his birth is uncertain; he was already in Rome by 1456, though he did not sever his relations with Mantua, which he visited occasionally in connexion with work as jeweller for the Gonzaga. His patron in Rome was at first the famous Cardinal Lodovico Mezzarota or Scarampi. The medal of this prelate (Pl. II. 4), with its finely characterised profile, is not unworthy to stand beside Mantegna's portrait in the Berlin Gallery. The reverse, with a military procession, and the mottoes *Ecclesia restituta* and *ex alto*, refers to his activity as general of the Church. The workmanship of the medal bears sufficient resemblance to the signed works of Cristoforo to justify Rossi's attribution of its authorship to him, which is *a priori* probable, seeing that the artist was in the cardinal's service.[3]

When Scarampi died on 22 March, 1465, Paul seized a great part of his possessions, and, as a very natural consequence, Cristoforo went over to the Papal service. In 1468 he restored the bronze statue of Marcus Aurelius. There is record of payments to the artist in 1469 for medals for the foundations of the Palazzo di S. Marco, as well as for artillery for the defence of the fortresses of the church. Further, his contemporary, Raphael Maffei of Volterra, says in the *Commentaries* that he made a medal of the Pope. Now among the medals of Paul there is a whole group resembling very closely in style and lettering the medal of

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[1] See *Burlington Magazine*, xxiv. (1914) p. 211 for this attribution. The arguments against the attribution of medals of Paul to Bellano are given in my paper in the *Num. Chron.* above cited. It is unnecessary here to discuss the baseless guesses of Gualdo, which have received more attention than they deserve.

[2] A summary of his career, with bibliography, is given in Thieme-Becker's *Allgemeines Lexikon*, s.v. Cristoforo.

[3] On the grounds for the attribution, see Fabriczy, *Ital. Medals* (trans. Hamilton), p. 156.

Scarampi; they are even of the same diameter, an item which may be allowed to count with the rest of the evidence. These medals[1] commemorate among other things the foundation of a building (*has aedes*) in 1470 (probably in the Vatican); the foundation of the house of the Pope's physician Jacopo Gottifredo in the Piazza di Pasquino[2]; and the work on the Tribune of St. Peter's, concerning which entries first appear in 1470, the date on the medal (Pl. II. 6). We need not, I think, hesitate to assign the whole of this group of medals to Cristoforo. All the obverses are from essentially the same model, which has been modified in various ways. It is a powerful portrait; but it makes it clear that Paul was after all wise in taking the advice of the Sacred College on his election not to assume the name Formosus. There is also a small group of oval medals with an inscription describing Paul as Stablisher of the Peace of Italy (*i.e.*, the Peace of February, 1468 or that of 22 Dec., 1470); they bear a remarkably characteristic portrait of which the original model may well be from Cristoforo's hand (Pl. III. 1).

Anyone who is familiar with Roman Imperial coins will not fail to recognise in these medals of Paul II. (excluding the oval pieces) a deliberate assimilation to the brass sestertii of the early Empire. The breath of antiquity was already beginning to affect the style of the medal, and indeed it would be surprising if it had failed to do so in Rome, of all places.

The medals of the Pope, however, are of much less importance than the two signed pieces which we have next to consider. One of them (Pl. IV. 3) represents Alfonso the Magnanimous of Aragon, who died in 1458; but it was not, according to the view that holds the field, done from the life. This was already conjectured by Friedländer on the ground of its style, which shows the influence of Mantegna. It is interesting to remember that Cristoforo may have come into contact with the painter on one of his visits to Mantua[3] or at the time (about 1459 according to Kristeller) when the Berlin portrait of Cardinal Mezzarota was painted. Now Fabriczy[4] has noted a curious circumstance which he considers to bear out the theory of a posthumous date. In 1468 Clement of Urbino made a medal of the Count Federigo of Montefeltro, wearing a sumptuously decorated cuirass. Now the cuirass worn by Alfonso on Cristoforo's medal is exactly similar to that of Federigo; and not only the cuirass, but the arrangement of the drapery is so exactly similar that we are, it would seem, bound to conclude that one artist has been copying from another. Fabriczy argues that the copying cannot have been by Clement, since Federigo would have considered it beneath his dignity to be represented wearing Alfonso's armour as it is given on Cristoforo's medal. He urges that we cannot assume that the resemblance is due merely to Federigo's having inherited the armour after Alfonso's death; since not only the armour, but even the cast of the drapery, is exactly alike on both medals. His argument seems to me preposterous. The medal by Clement is so dull and uninspired, and so poor in execution, that it is difficult to suppose that such a finely characteristic portrait as Cristoforo's owes even the details of the armour to it. Cristoforo's work has all the air of being done from the life, or, if it is copied, then of being copied from something less mediocre than Clement's medal.[1] The original may in that case well have been a bust in the round, as the treatment of the bust on the medal suggests.[2]

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[1] Nos. 15–26 on Pl. XII. in the article in the *Num. Chron.* above cited.

[2] Cp. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, i. 74.

[3] Mantegna is first known to have been in communication with Lodovico Gonzaga by a letter of Jan. 5, 1457, referring to earlier negotiations (Kristeller, *Mantegna*, p. 182).

[4] *Ital. Medals*, p. 157.

It seems then most reasonable to conclude that Cristoforo's medal dates from the last years of Alfonso's life (by which time the artist would already have been acquainted with Mantegna, or at any rate with his works) or from soon after his death; that Federigo inherited the suit of armour in question from Alfonso; and that Clement took a short cut to what he thought was success by copying Cristoforo's medal in respect of the cuirass and drapery.

As regards the borrowing by Cristoforo of another element in the composition there can, however, be no doubt. In placing the crown in its curious position under the bust he has followed Pisanello, who used this arrangement in two of his medals of Alfonso. Another Mantuan artist, Melioli, also followed the example, in his medal of Christiern III.

The reverse of Cristoforo's Alfonso is a lively composition of the coronation of the king by Mars and Bellona (but for the inscription one would have identified the goddess as Victory). The suggestion already made that this medal was known to later Mantuan artists is borne out by the fact that a figure of Mars in much the same attitude, but for the right arm, is found on a medal of the school of l'Antico representing Luca Zuharis.

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[1] Fabriczy's suggestion that Cristoforo followed Paolo da Ragusa's medal of Alfonso for the features seems to me to be very wide of the mark.

[2] This treatment of the bust, which Friedländer has already observed, was followed by later Mantuan medallists, as by Melioli in his portraits of Christiern I. of Denmark and Francesco III. Gonzaga, and by Ruberto in his portrait of the latter prince.

The reverse is signed CHRISTOPHORVS HIERIMIA ; on the next medal to be considered the signature is given more fully, CHRISTOPHORVS HIERIMIAE . F., in which, as Friedländer remarks, F may stand either for *Filius* or *Fecit* ; in either case, Geremia must have been the artist's father's name.

The medal of Constantine the Great (long wrongly supposed to represent Augustus) is not so fine a work of art as the Alfonso, but it is full of interest (Pl. IV. 2).[1] The portrait is undoubtedly meant for Constantine. The inscription, it would appear, is a not too intelligent adaptation of some ancient inscription, such as that on the Ponte S. Bartolommeo in honour of Valentinian I., Valens and Gratian. Cristoforo's wording is *Caesar Imperator Pont*(*ifex*) *P.P.P. et semper Augustus vir*. All the elements of this, except the rather absurd *vir*, can be picked out of such an inscription as that which I have mentioned ; in the Roman original *P.P.P.* stands for *Pater Patriae, Proconsul*. What Cristoforo thought the letters meant, I hesitate to conjecture. But they have an interest for us in connexion with another medal, representing Cosimo Vecchio, which has been attributed on grounds of style to the same artist. The inscription in this case is *Magnus Cosmus Medices P.P.P.* Other varieties of the same medal read *Cosmus Medices decreto publico P.P.*, referring obviously to the title *pater patriae* which was conferred on Cosimo after his death in 1465. These medals raise various interesting questions which do not concern us here ; but the occurrence of these three mysterious letters is a slight confirmation of the attribution of one at least of the pieces to Cristoforo ; and if that attribution is right, the suggestion made by the late J. de Foville, that the beautiful portrait in the Uffizi ascribed to Botticelli, of a young man holding a specimen of the medal with *P.P.P.*, represents Cristoforo himself, becomes very attractive. Cristoforo was in Florence with Scarampi in 1462, when he may have modelled Cosimo's likeness, even if he did not make a medal at the time. If, as the analogy of the Constantine medal suggests, the artist used his Latin abbreviations unintelligently, then the medal of Cosimo with *P.P.P.* may after all carry no allusion to his posthumous title of Pater Patriae, and may have been made during his lifetime, possibly in 1462.

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[1] I have discussed it in the *Atti e Memorie dell'Istituto Italiano di Numism.*, ii (1915) pp 257–261, where Baron de Cosson's suggestions as to the portrait and other details will be found fully worked out.

But this is a side issue, and we have not yet described the reverse of the medal of Constantine. Besides the artist's signature, it bears the inscription *Concordia Augg(ustorum)*; in the field are the letters *S.C.* (the *Senatus Consulto* of Roman coins). The Emperor, laureate and togate, holds a caduceus in his left hand, and with his right grasps the hand of a veiled female figure who holds a cornucopiae. Certain obscure signs between the arms of the caduceus have been interpreted as the letters PAX; this is, however, very doubtful.

The interpretation of this group which suggested itself to a contemporary, who, there is little doubt, was the medallist Guaccialotti himself, is that it symbolises the peace of the Church. For in the time of Sixtus IV. he made a medal with a portrait of that Pope (inscribed *Sixtus P(a)p(a) IIII. urbis renovator*) and provided it with a reverse which is a mere rifacimento of Cristoforo's design (Pl. IV. 4).[1] In the exergue he has placed the word *Ecclesia*, thus identifying the veiled figure as the Church; and the inscription around the group is *Concor. et amator paci. Pon. Max. P.P.P.*, which I take to be an attempt at *Amator Concordiae et Pacis, Pontifex Maximus*, etc.[2] It is true that there is no parallel to the cornucopiae as an attribute of the Church, but in the borrowing of allegorical figures from classical art we cannot demand too great exactitude in such matters from the medallists of the fifteenth century. We shall see that the interpretation of the figure as the Church is confirmed by another medal, produced in 1489 (p. 40).

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[1] It has been thought that this medal is a modern concoction, consisting of an obverse by Guaccialotti surmoulé with Cristoforo's reverse. But there exists no other original portrait by Guaccialotti on this scale which the modern fabricator could have used. I know only the reproduction in the Victoria and Albert Museum. A specimen is illustrated in the S. Pozzi Catalogue (Paris, 28 juin, 1919, lot 813); but I understand that it is very much re-touched. Armand wished to attribute the work to Lysippus; but, when he wrote, practically no critical attention had been devoted to that artist.

[2] The description is so inapplicable to the most pugnacious of Popes, that it must be either ironical or official. For a similarly clumsy order of words, compare *Concordia Augusta Consulti Venetique Senatus* on a medal of Pasquale Malipiero by Guidizani, *Burlington Magazine*, xii. (1907) p. 148.

If, then, Cristoforo's medal commemorates the Constantinian Peace of the Church, what was its immediate occasion? I can think of nothing more appropriate than the visit to Rome of the Emperor Frederick III. at Christmas, 1468, the last occasion on which a Roman Emperor was seen in Rome. In later days a medal would most undoubtedly have been issued by the Pope to commemorate such an event; and one actually exists, probably from the hand of the Florentine Bertoldo, commemorating Frederick's creation of a number of knights on Jan. 1, 1469. It is hardly likely that the leading Roman medallist of the time would have missed such an opportunity.

Two or three other medals which have been attributed to Cristoforo di Geremia must be mentioned before we part with him. One of them (Pl. III. 3) represents Guillaume d'Estouteville, of whom, as we have already seen, a medal was probably made by Guaccialotti at an earlier date. Since the sitter is described as Bishop of Ostia, the portrait is not earlier than 1461. The rendering of the features is entirely in the style of the medals of Paul II. which we have seen reason to attribute to Cristoforo. And the bust, though it does not take the exact form of those of Alfonso and Constantine, is yet sharply pointed, and has the truncation treated in such a way as to suggest an actual bronze sculpture. The reverse is the Cardinal's coat of arms. A very similar treatment of the bust characterises a remarkable portrait medal (Pl. I. 4) of a Paduan condottiere (*Dottus Patavus milicie prefetus*), generally identified with Giambattista Dotti, who fought in the service of the Venetians and was killed in 1513 fighting against the Spaniards near Vicenza. Assuming, however, that the medal is by Cristoforo, who died in 1476, the identification of the sitter must be wrong, since he appears to be of an advanced age, and certainly could not have been on active service at least 37 years after the medal was made. De Foville more reasonably identifies the sitter as Paolo Dotti, who flourished about 1466.[1]

It is extremely probable that this medal and that of the Cardinal of Rouen are by the same hand, and that would seem to be Cristoforo's. That the medal of Dotti is not later than the early 'seventies is clear from the following considerations. The type of the reverse is a figure of Constancy, resting her left elbow on a column and her right hand on a spear.

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[1] B. Scardeonius, *de antiquitate Urbis Patavii* (Basel, 1560) p. 302.

The reverse of the medal of Costanza Bentivoglio,[1] probably made on the occasion of her marriage, 1473, is a mere reproduction by casting of the Constantia of the Dotti medal. The same type, on a larger scale, and more roughly executed, appears on a medal of Girolamo Santucci, Bishop of Fossombrone (13 Oct., 1469 to 25 July, 1494), which is certainly by a Florentine hand.[2] The comparative roughness of the treatment suggests that it is copied from the medal of Dotti, or perhaps even from the reverse of Guaccialotti's Sixtus IV., of 1481, which is itself a copy of the Dotti reverse (Pl. I. 5). A freer version of the same original (with the column converted into a bundle of arrows, and an arrow substituted for a spear) appears as the reverse of a medal of Maria Poliziana.[3]

A third attribution, which would credit Cristoforo with the little medal (Pl. III. 4) of Marcello Capodiferro, 'Mercurialium hospes virorum,' one of the Roman Conservatori in 1478, seems to me to have little to be said for it; in conception, composition and modelling it seems to me to have no more than a superficial resemblance to Cristoforo's work, though it may be the product of a younger contemporary of his.[4]

We may now leave Cristoforo, who died before 22 Feb., 1476, and return to deal with the remaining medals of Paul II.'s reign.[5] The Pope's favourite jeweller was Andrea di Niccolò da Viterbo, of whom documents make mention from 22 Sept., 1464 to 1 Apr., 1475.[6] Zippel has already suggested that he may have been employed as medallist, seeing that from 12 Dec., 1464, to 5 Aug., 1468, he was Master of the Mint. As such he, or his colleague, Emiliano di Pier Matteo Orfini[7] of Foligno, would have been responsible for the dies of the great struck medal commemorating a Public Consistory, probably that of 23 Dec., 1466, at which George Podiebrad was condemned (Fig. 2).[8] This piece, nearly 3¼ inches in diameter, was a remarkable achievement for the coining-presses of the time; probably very few specimens were struck, and those on very thin flans. The relief is very low, and indeed the machinery of those days would not have been adequate to anything else. On one side is the Consistory, with the Pope presiding. On the other is Christ in glory on the Last Day, with the Saints, the Apostles, the Virgin and St. John Baptist, and the dead rising from their graves. A specimen of this in gold was given in 1497 by Alexander VI. to Boguslav X. of Pomerania; and another or the same gold piece has been described by Armand as a coin of twenty ducats. Cast reproductions of this medal are common.

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[1] Heiss, *Médailleurs*, Florence, i. p. 54, Pl. IV. 4.

[2] Heiss, *op. cit.* p. 54, Pl. IV. 5. He wrongly gives the date of Santucci's election to the see of Fossombrone as 1474.

[3] *Burlington Magazine*, xxxi. (1917), p. 101, fig. A.

[4] Armand originally dated it to the period 1500–25, before he knew (iii. 178*C*) that the man was one of the Conservatori as early as 1478. I may add that he was maestro di strada in 1488 (E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II.*, etc., p. 221, note).

[5] For details, see, as before, *Numism. Chron.* (1910).

[6] G. Zippel, *Le Vite di Paolo II.* (in the new ed. of Muratori, *R.I.S.*, III. pt. xvi. 1904) pp. 191–2.

[7] The name is given as Orsini by Zippel, *loc. cit.*, but other writers agree in the form Orfini.

[8] From *Num. Chron.* (1910) p. 345.

There is a remarkable resemblance in lettering between this piece and a large cast and chased medal of the Pope, with his arms on the reverse, which bears clear traces of having been made by a jeweller (Pl. IV. 1). The use of cable-circles to bound the inscriptions, a characteristic of jeweller's work, is found both on this large medal and on the bulla of Paul II., which shows the Pope receiving seven suppliants, perhaps the family of the exiled despot of the Morea, Thomas Palaeologus. Casts from this bulla, which would in the ordinary course have been designed by the engravers to the mint, were worked up into medallic form (Pl. III. 2). The evidence of the jeweller's technique combined with what we know of Andrea da Viterbo seems to me to warrant the conjecture that he may be responsible for the Consistory medal, the large cast medal, and the bulla and the medals made from it.

In the reign of Sixtus IV. (1471–1484) Guaccialotti reappears on the scene, though not, so far as we know, before 1481. The sensation caused in the Christian world by the Turkish seizure of Otranto in July, 1480, was a measure of the relief which was felt when it was recovered in September of the next year by the young Duke of Calabria. Alfonso was in command of combined Papal and Neapolitan troops; but it was the death of Mohammad II. and the ensuing civil war, rather than any efforts of his, that liberated Italian soil from the Turkish invaders. Guaccialotti made three medals in connexion with this event. One represents the Pope (Pl. I. 5)—a fair, but not vigorous portrait. On the reverse is an allegorical figure of Constantia—a nude female figure leaning on a column and resting her right hand on a long staff. At her feet are represented—partly by engraving—Turkish prisoners, arms and galleys.

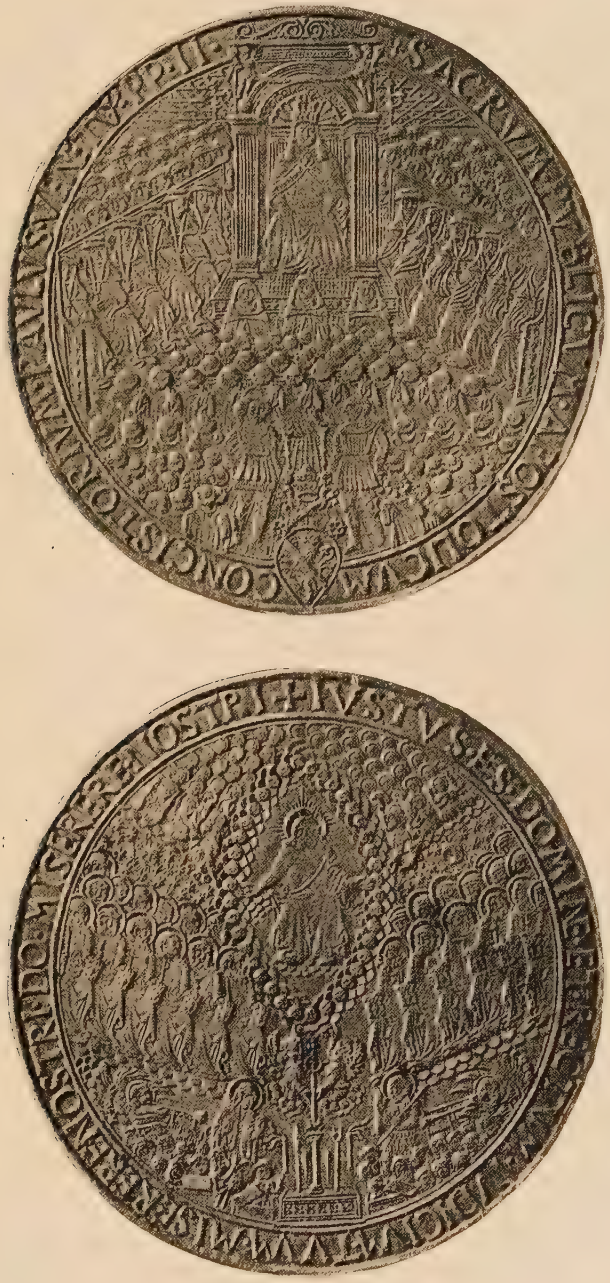

FIG. 2.—THE CONSISTORY MEDAL OF PAUL II. *See* pp. 30 f.

Across the field is engraved the date, MCCCCLXXXI; and the motto is *Parcere subiectis et debellare superbos Sixte potes.* Interesting in many ways, the medal is not an inspired effort; and one feels that the figure of Constantia is hardly appropriate to the conduct of Sixtus in the crisis.

This figure of Constantia, her slight drapery, the column on which she leans, her spear or sceptre, even the word *Constantia* in the exergue, are all closely modelled on the similar figure and inscription on the reverse of the medal of Dotti already described. It would even seem that the copying has been done mechanically, *i.e.*, by taking an impression.[1] If the medal of Dotti is by Cristoforo di Geremia, as that of Sixtus is, by general admission, the work of Guaccialotti, then we have a very clear case of plagiarism. But, as we have seen and shall see, it would be by no means an isolated case. On the strength of the resemblance between the two figures the medal of Dotti used to be attributed to Guaccialotti; but it shows a power of characterisation of which the Tuscan was hardly capable.

Guaccialotti used the reverse of his medal of Sixtus, with the alteration of the single word SIXTE to ALFOS, and the addition of a palm-branch in the left hand of the figure, for the reverse of a medal of the victorious Duke of Calabria. The portrait on the obverse (Pl. I. 6), treated with fair success in three-quarter face, is one of the artist's few original strokes. It is, in some ways, the best example on any Italian medal of such treatment, which most artists avoided because of its obvious difficulties. For a second medal with the same obverse Guaccialotti invented what is easily his most interesting design (Pl. I. 6). It represents the triumphal entry of Alfonso into Otranto; the Duke rides in a high car, preceded by horsemen, footsoldiers and trumpeters, driving before them Turkish prisoners through a gate of the city; beyond the gate are a lion's head fountain and the forepart of a wolf rising out of the water. The inscriptions—all engraved—are *Neapolis victrix* above;[2] below,

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[1] The same process may have been employed in Guaccialotti's other borrowings; thus his group of the Pelican in her Piety is sufficiently close to Pisanello's to have been made by working up an impression.

[2] This might seem to identify the city as Naples, but not necessarily so. Most writers have shirked the question which city is represented. If Berzeviczy (*Béatrice d'Aragon*, i. p. 194) is right in identifying the fountain as the 'Hungarian fountain,' the capture of which by Hungarians caused the fall of the city, there can be no doubt that Otranto is intended; and this is *a priori* probable.

ob Italiam ac fidem restitutam or *Italiaque restituta* and the date on a tablet held by two little genii ; and below that the signature *Opus And*(*reae*) *G*(*uaccialoti*) *Pratens*(*is*). This medal again gives evidence of the artist's habit of taking what he thought good where he found it ; a group of figures in the procession is lifted bodily, as the late Mr. P. H. C. Allen observed, from the reverse of Cristoforo di Geremia's medal of Lodovico Scarampi (Pl. II. 4). Beginning early, as we have seen, with a loan from Pisanello, Guaccialotti devoted particular attention to the ideas provided by medals which are all certainly or probably the work of Cristoforo di Geremia. Since it would appear that Guaccialotti was out of favour at the Papal Court when Cristoforo was employed there, it would seem that this was an amiable method of taking his revenge on his rival. It is a kind of revenge that comes home to roost when the critics get to work.

Guaccialotti is not heard of again in Rome, although he survived until 1494 or 1495, his name being mentioned in the accounts of the Canons of Prato in 1494, but missing in 1496. In spite of his questionable attitude to the artistic property of other people, the impression made by his medals is that of a pleasing but not brilliant craftsman.

Of the most interesting medallist[1] of the reign of Sixtus IV, we know very little, not even, it would seem his real name. For 'Lysippus the Younger,' *Λύσιππος ὁ νεώτερος*, is apparently a pseudonym assumed by this very attractive artist. Raffael Maffei of Volterra in his *Commentarii Urbani*[2] after saying that Cristoforo of Mantua made a portrait medal of Paul II (*iconico numismate expressit*) adds : 'Lysippus vero eius nepos adolescens Xistum iiii.' The margin has the note 'Lysippus Iunior.' This is the sole external record of the artist that has survived. But we have his signature on two medals. One represents the poet Martinus Philethicus, Poet Laureate and Knight and Count Palatine, a man of letters who was a Professor of Greek in Rome in 1473 ; this is signed on the reverse *Ἔργον Λυσίππου Νεοτέρου* (Pl. III. 5). The type is the Pelican in her Piety, copied (either direct, or through Guaccialotti's Pius II.) from Pisanello's Vittorino da Feltre. The other medal (now known only from a seventeenth century engraving) gives a bust of a young man in the clerical dress and cap of the time—*Iul*(*ius*) *Maras*(*cha*) *optim*(*ae*) *indol*(*is*) *adol*(*escens*). On the reverse, in a wreath, is the dedication *Lysippus amico optimo*. These two medals are the basis on which it has been possible to construct, with considerable security, a large fabric of conjectural attributions.[1] The sitters are apparently almost all frequenters of the Papal Court—one or two high dignitaries, such as Raffael Riario, Cardinal of St. George (Pl. III. 7, dated 1478), but for the most part young scholars, such as the brilliant Milanese lawyer and poet, Giovanni Alvise Toscani, who was in the service of Sixtus and died in 1475 (Pl. VI. 1), or minor clerics. There is a fine medal of Raffael Maffei apparently from the hand of Lysippus, which we may take as repaying the artist's debt to the scholar for having given to posterity the only record of himself. His style is easily recognised by certain marked characteristics. He inherited from his uncle a fondness for a bust with a hollowed-out truncation, sharply pointed in front.[2] A careful study of Roman monumental inscriptions made him a master of lettering, and no medallist has surpassed him in such a problem as setting out an inscription within a formal wreath. A favourite ornament—amounting almost to a signature—used by him is a stalk with two leaves, apparently of a kind of poplar. His scholarly connexions explain his fondness for Greek; the inscriptions of the charming medal of Malitia de Gesualdo (afterwards bishop of Rapolla, 1482–8) are entirely in that language (Pl. V. 1).

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[1] For a detailed discussion of the work of Lysippus, with full illustrations, see *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xiii (Aug. 1908) pp. 274–286 ; other attributions, *ibid.* vol. xvi. Oct. 1909) pp. 25–26 ; Berlin *Amtliche Berichte*, xxxiv. p. 1.

[2] 1506, lib. xxi. p. ccc, v^{0}.

By far the most important of the medals which can with certainty be attributed to this most pleasing artist is anonymous (Pl. VI. 3). But it is easy to guess who is portrayed. The youth, wearing the round cap and close fitting dress of the clerk of the day, can be no other than the artist himself. For the inscription says: *di là il bel viso e qui il tuo servo mira*: i.e.:

'This side the likeness of your slave displays;
Turn me, your own fair face will meet your gaze.'

The reverse is plain, and must have been intended to be polished as a mirror. It is a pretty compliment, conveyed by one of the most charming medals in the whole Italian series. Very pleasing also, though less ingenious, are the medals of the already-mentioned Giovanni Alvise Toscani (Pl. VI. 1 and III. 6), or those of the scholar and tutor of Ferdinand the Catholic, Francisco Vidal of Noya in Galicia; indeed there are few of Lysippus' medals which have not a sincerity and friendliness which make one regret the lack of all personal records of his life.

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[1] The letters L.P. which occur in the field of two medals of Toscani need not be his signature; for other letters (B M, S M) are used by him in precisely the same way (Regling, *Amtliche Berichte, loc. cit.*).

[2] Sometimes, as in the bust of Dotti attributed to Cristoforo (Pl. I. 4), with a projection in the middle of the hollow.

As to the medal of Sixtus IV. which he made, there can I think be little doubt that it is the one commemorating the rebuilding of the Ponte Sisto, which was begun on 29 April, 1473. (Pl. V. 2.) It must have been this medal of which specimens in gold were placed in the foundations on that day.[1] The Pope's bust has not the characteristic truncation, but that is owing to the necessity of representing him wearing cope and morse. But the reverse is absolutely Lysippean; that is clear from the admirable lettering, the well-proportioned formal wreath, and the rendering of the water exactly in the style of one of the medals of Toscani (Pl. III. 6). Fabriczy proposed to attribute to Lysippus a medal representing the coronation of the Pope by two saints, with the inscription *Hec damus in terris, aeterna dabuntur Olimpo* (Pl. V. 3).[2] But neither in composition, nor in lettering, nor in conception—the design owes its inspiration, it is true, to the medal of Alfonso of Aragon by Lysippus' uncle—can I see anything to remind us of the accredited work of the artist.

Another medallist of note who was engaged to portray Sixtus IV. was the Venetian Vettor Gambello (or Camelius, as he Latinized his name). His medal[3] is a work of small importance, with a reverse adapted from one of Cristoforo di Geremia's medals of Paul II., representing the Pope's Audience (Pl. V. 4). It may possibly, as de Foville suggests, have been made during the understanding between Venice and the Pope in 1482. The only other contemporary medal of Sixtus is a curious little piece apparently made to the order of his nephew, Giuliano della Rovere, afterwards Julius II. (Pl. V. 5). Round a representation of the fortress of Ostia on the reverse is the inscription *Iul(ianus) Card(inalis) Nepos in Ostio Tiberino*, showing that the medal was made at Ostia between

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[1] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 76.

[2] *Trés. de Num., Méd. Ital.* i. Pl. XXIV. 3.

[3] Friedländer, *Ital. Schaumünzen*, Pl. XVII.; J. de Foville in *Rev. de l'Art anc. et mod.* xxxii. p. 276

1471, when Giuliano was promoted Cardinal, and 1484, when Sixtus died. We may fix it more exactly to 1483, when Baccio Pontelli began to build the Castle for Giuliano,[1] and specimens of this medal were doubtless laid in the foundations. It is one of a small, strongly characterized but artistically unimportant group of medals.[2]

Round Lysippus group themselves a certain number of medals made in Rome which cannot be attributed to any known artist. The medal of Guglielmo Batonatti (Pl. VII. 1)[3] has some of the external characteristics of Lysippus' style, but lacks his intimate touch. The pose and treatment of the bust, and the wreath on the reverse (enclosing a design of a unicorn, surmounted by a tau cross, emblematic of Christian purity) are externalities suggested by the earlier master's work. It shows also traces of Florentine influence.

Ascanio Mario Sforza, vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, was born in 1445, became bishop of Pavia on 20 Sept., 1479, cardinal of S. Vito and S. Modestin in 1484. He died on 28 May, 1505. The medal of him[4] (Pl. VII. 3) has been attributed by Friedländer to Caradosso, who is supposed to have been introduced by the Cardinal to the Papal Court[5]; but as Fabriczy points out the attribution is not entirely borne out by the style and lettering. It describes him as vice-chancellor of the Roman Church, and is therefore later than 11 Aug., 1492.[6] On the reverse is a female figure holding a torch, and about to throw incense on a burning altar; above is the arch of heaven (hardly a rainbow, as it is generally described) with rays and flames issuing from it. The legend is *Sacer est locus, ite prophani,* and the altar is inscribed IDEM. This cannot refer to the foundation of the Cathedral of Pavia in 1488, for the chronological reason already indicated. For the same reason we cannot accept J. de Foville's attribution to Lysippus,[7] since there is no evidence that the artist was working so late as the nineties of the fifteenth century. But we may admit that the piece shows some traces of the influence of Lysippus, as in the lettering and in the composition of the reverse.

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[1] The inscription on the keep (Guglielmotti in *Atti Pont. Accad. Arch.* Ser. I. vol. xv. p. 48) says that he began it in the time of Sixtus IV. (*i.e.* before 1484) and finished it in 1486 under Innocent VIII.

[2] By the same hand are the medal with the same type for the reverse, and a portrait of Giuliano himself (Pl. V. 6), and one of the Florentine Francesco de' Bonsi, dated 1484. See *Burlington Magazine*, xxx. (1917) p. 191.

[3] *Burlington Magazine*, vol. xii. (1907) p. 149.

[4] Arm. ii. 55, 8; Friedländer, Pl. XXXVI.

[5] Fabriczy, p. 169.

[6] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 281.

[7] *Rev. Num.* (1913) pp. 547 ff.

More of the quality of Lysippus is to be found in a medal of Diomede Caraffa (Pl. VII. 2) and in that one of Francisco Vidal which describes the sitter as *Ingenii doctrinae leporisque ac probitatis principium et culmen* (Pl. VII. 4)[1]—so close are they to his manner that many would hardly hesitate to give them to the artist himself. The same is true of the larger of the two medals which give us the portrait of the medallist Giovanni Candida (Fig. 3).[2] This is a work of great beauty, broad and sympathetic in its treatment, and perhaps finer than anything else attributed to Lysippus. In the proportion and arrangement of the lettering with regard to the bust it differs from that artist's work, and the resemblances which it does show to it are easily explained on the ground that the author of it, perhaps Candida himself, came under the influence of Lysippus, if he was not actually his pupil. The smaller medal of Candida, on the other hand, shows no trace of the elder artist's influence (Pl. VII. 5). On this piece Candida is a youth of about seventeen or eighteen years, and he may have made it himself before he knew the work of Lysippus.

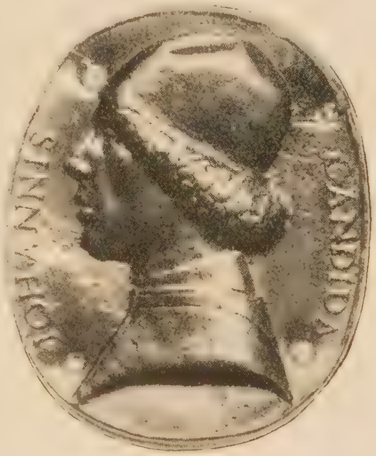

FIG. 3.—GIOVANNI CANDIDA.

Giovanni Candida[3] was of Neapolitan birth, but came young to Rome, and had a succesful diplomatic career. He was still quite young when he went to Flanders, where he is known to have been secretary to the Duke of Burgundy from 1472 to 1479. His life was henceforth mainly spent in Flanders or France, so that he can hardly count as a Roman medallist. But it must have been on one of his diplomatic visits to Rome that he made the fine medal, so broad and dignified in style, with the portraits of Clemente and Giuliano della Rovere (Pl. VI. 4). A medal of Gianfrancesco della Rovere, grand-nephew of Julius II., has been attributed to him by Fabriczy; but since the sitter is described as governor of Castel Sant' Angelo and bishop of Turin, and the portrait cannot therefore be earlier than 1504, the attribution is not very probable, since Candida is not heard of after 1504 and all his work in the years preceding was done in the north of France.[1]

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[1] *Burl. Mag.*, xiii. (1908) p. 280, Pl. III. 4 and 5. Compare Candida's medal of Nicolas Ruter.

[2] From a photograph kindly supplied by the late M. Gustave Dreyfus.

[3] H. de la Tour in *Revue Numism.* (1894, 1895). Other references in Thieme-Becker, *Allgemeines Lexikon*. On Candida at the Court of Burgundy, see V. Tourneur in *Rev. Belge de Numism.*, 1914 [1919] pp. 381–411; 1919, pp. 7–48, 251–300.

During the period with which we have just been dealing, the Florentine school of medallic portraiture, the great name in which is Niccolò di Forzore Spinelli (Niccolò Fiorentino), had been coming into prominence. It was natural that its influence should be felt in Rome, even if Florentine artists did not actually come thither. It is clearly seen in the larger medal of Girolamo Callagrani (the smaller medal of this man is by Lysippus), on which he is described as private chamberlain of Innocent VIII. (Pl. VI. 6). Callagrani is first heard of in that capacity in Sept., 1484,[2] and presumably filled the post until he became bishop of Mondovi

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[1] I suppose that the medal referred to by Fabriczy (p. 165) is that described by Armand (*Médailleurs*, ii. 106, 22), which has on the obverse the bust of Gianfrancesco della Rovere, grand-nephew of Julius II. (*Io. Fran. Ruvere eps. Taur. arcis Hadri. Prefect.*), and on the reverse the curious type of a genius, carrying a branch, flying toward an oak-tree before which is a butting bull, with the motto *Glans Genius Taurus singula dicta Iovi*, and the date 1498. (On the Vienna specimen, which is a bad after-cast, the date has been removed; see *Trés. de Num.*, *Méd. ital.* ii. Pl. XXVIII. Nos. 1, 2. The same is true of a specimen in the Paris Cabinet here illustrated, Pl. I. 7, for lack of access to an original). This reverse is chronologically incompatible with the obverse (which cannot be earlier than 1504), and seems to refer to some relation between the Rovere (the oak) and the Borgia Pope (the bull). Dr. Ashby suggests that the reference may be to the reconciliation with Giuliano della Rovere, when Giuliano received Cesare Borgia amicably at Avignon in autumn 1498 (see Pastor, iii. p. 381, 443.) Fabriczy, if I understand him rightly, makes the curious mistake of supposing Gianfrancesco to have been Prefect of Rome, whereas he was only Governor of Castel Sant'Angelo. His predecessor in that office was his uncle Gian Lodovico, Bishop of Turin, who died in Aug., 1510. Gianfrancesco had already been appointed coadjutor to his aged uncle in the see of Turin on 10 May, 1504, and filled the see as sole Bishop from 1510 to May, 1515, when he became the first Archbishop. He died before the end of 1516. The combination of titles on the obverse limits it to the years 1504–1515. For the dates of his governorship of Castel Sant'Angelo see E. Rodocanachi, *Le Château Saint-Ange*, p. 115.

[2] Burckard, ed. Celani, i. p. 75 (Muratori, *R.I.S.*, new ed., vol. xxxii.) He is mentioned earlier (p. 26, 26 Aug.), without description; and Burckard afterwards continues to call him now subdiaconus apostolicus, now secretus cubicularius, until in Dec., 1491 (p. 330) he describes him as episcopus Montis Regalis. Promis (*Misc. Stor. Ital.* (1873) xiii. 713–15) says that he did not leave Rome for his diocese until after the death of Innocent. The *Catalogue of the Medici Archives* (Christie's, London, 4 Feb., 1918) p. 68, No. 226, describes a letter from Francesco di Savoia, Bishop of Geneva, dated 7 Mar., 1491, promising Lorenzo to resign the Cathedral Church of Monreale in

(Mons Regalis) on 5 Nov., 1490. We may therefore date the medal within six years. Both in the treatment of the bust and still more in the allegorical figure combining the attributes of Faith and Hope (*Spes mihi sola Fides* is the motto) the Florentine touch is apparent. The medal of Bernardino Gamberia[1] (Pl. VI. 5), another private chamberlain of Innocent VIII., made in 1485, when the sitter was aged thirty, is thought by Bode to have been made by Niccolò Fiorentino himself on a visit to Rome.[2] The lack of discrimination which has been shown in Bode's reconstruction of the *œuvre* of the Florentine artist is generally recognised, and is certainly manifest in this case.

There are three medals of Innocent VIII. himself which call for consideration in this connexion. The largest of them, also made in 1485, has on the reverse figures of Peace standing between Justice and Abundance. The traditional attribution was to Antonio Pollaiuolo; another suggestion, which is now universally set aside, was Francia; Bode[3] gave it to Niccolò Fiorentino; and Fabriczy[4] agreed that it is Florentine. We may perhaps concede the Florentine origin of this larger medal; but when we come to the smaller but undated piece with the same types,[5] which Bode has also swept into his net (Pl. VI. 7) and to the piece with the heraldic reverse (Pl. VIII. 2), we find ourselves observing exactly that constriction of style which we should expect in a local artist reproducing the work of a great master. The mere fact that a small medal reproduces the types of a larger one is too often taken as a reason for assigning both to the same hand. An elementary knowledge of human nature is sufficient to show the worthlessness of this kind of argument.

The figure of Peace which appears on these medals reminds us of the inscription on the Pope's tomb: *Italicae pacis perpetuo custodi*, a fairly

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favour of Geronimo Calagrano. There must be some strange confusion here, since Callagrani's predecessor at Mondovi was not Francesco di Savoia (who could not have written a letter on that date, seeing that he was already dead on 6 Oct., 1490) but Antonio Campione.

[1] First mentioned by Burckard, 6 Jan., 1485 (ed. Celani, i. p. 105). In 1501 he became Bishop of Cavaillon, and filled the see until 1510.

[2] Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxv. p. 10.

[3] *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst*, xv. p. 41.

[4] *Ital. Medals* (Eng. trans.) p. 114.

[5] Bode, Berlin *Jahrbuch*, xxv. Taf. A3, C3, or *Florentiner Bildhauer*², Figs. 151, 152. A specimen of this medal was found in the Pope's tomb. On this flimsy foundation, it would seem, is based the attribution of the medals of this type to Antonio Pollaiuolo, the artist of the Pope's sarcophagus. The same obverse is also found combined with a heraldic reverse which is too small for it, and evidently does not belong (I. B. Supino, *Medagliere Mediceo*, No. 70).

just claim. *Fuit humanus et amator pacis*, says Infessura. On the other hand, the Justice and Abundance receive a rather interesting commentary in the complaints of Egidius of Viterbo,[1] who describes how Innocent suddenly awoke to the necessity of executing justice on the innumerable malefactors in the city, and how his outburst of severity excited odium, which he appeased by doles of corn to the populace. Never was it cheaper or more abundant in Rome.

These are the only contemporary medals of Innocent VIII. known to me. We have already noticed some portraits of private persons which were produced in his reign. There is another representing Guillaume, Count of Poitiers and Seigneur de Clerieu, French Ambassador to the Pope in 1489,[2] which was probably made in Rome in that year and portrays him at the age of about 37 (Pl. VI. 2). In style this medal stands by itself, resembling, so far as I know, no other piece of the period. The clasped hands below the bust denote the object of Guillaume's mission, to make a pact with the Pope. His ambassadorial character is also denoted by the figure of Mercury, holding a caduceus, on the reverse. But the chief interest of the reverse type lies in its being an adaptation of that of the medal of Constantine by Cristoforo di Geremia which we have already discussed (p. 27, Pl. IV. 2). The Emperor is converted into a Mercury; the female figure, holding a cornucopiæ, still, as we may presume from our knowledge of Guillaume's mission, denotes the Church. Whether the border of horns with flames issuing from them has any significance or is purely ornamental, I cannot say.[3]

Besides these medals of private personages we have also to note the appearance, either in 1491 or shortly afterwards, of the first of a long series of medals of Christ, based on a Flemish type, of which record has come down to us in a Flemish painting of the end of the fifteenth century.[4] The treatment of the bust on these medals is entirely Florentine, but I would not deny that some of them may have been made in Rome. The head of Christ professes, according to the inscription on the reverse, to have been copied from an ancient emerald cameo, with portraits of Christ and St. Paul, which had been presented by the Sultan Bajazet II. to Innocent VIII., in order to induce him to keep his brother Djem in captivity. As there is nothing Early Christian or Byzantine about the type of Christ (or about that of Paul, when the head of the Apostle appears, as it does on certain later specimens), we must assume that the artist was endeavouring to impose on the pious by claiming that his fancy portraits were based on ancient authority. However this may be, the medal was very popular, and it is probable that most of the later versions were made in Rome, continuing down to the time when, shortly before the middle of the sixteenth century, a new type of Christ medal became fashionable, and ousted the old one from popular favour.

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[1] Quoted by Creighton, *Papacy*, v. pp. 320–321.

[2] Burckard, ed. Celani, i. p. 275 (13 Sept., 1489). Arm. ii. p. 87, No. 15. Guillaume also went as the French king's ambassador to Spain shortly before the French expedition to Italy (Chorier, *Hist. gén. du Dauphiné;* ii. p. 495).

[3] Such a horn is substituted for the horn of plenty in the hand of Charity on the reverse of the Florentine medals of Niccolò Puccini and Bernardo Salviati.

[4] The intricate question of these medals of Christ is dealt with by me in a separate monograph (*Medallic Portraits of Christ and other Essays*) shortly to be issued by the Clarendon Press.

Innocent was followed in 1492 by Alexander VI. Of the second Borgia Pope we have probably not more than four contemporary medals.[1] A much discussed piece (Pl. VII. 7) commemorates the Pope's coronation: the Pope is seated under a canopy; three bishops, a crowd of persons, soldiers, a horseman and trumpeters, assist at the ceremony, which takes place before an architectural background. In the exergue is the word CORONAT. Friedländer attributed this medal to Caradosso (of whom we shall speak later) and Bode accepts this view; but in 1492, at the time of the event commemorated, Caradosso was still in the service of Sforza at Milan. It is true that he travelled at times in that service, and may have visited Rome. The medal is certainly more in Caradosso's style—so far as we can form an idea of it—than in that of Francia, in whom Fabriczy would seek the author. Least probable of all suggestions is that which is ventured by Martinori,[2] that it is so like a medal of Hadrian VI. that it must be considered the work of a non-contemporary, unknown medallist. But the medal of Hadrian VI. to which he refers is from dies still preserved in the Roman mint, and is one of the innumerable fabrications produced by the Roman authorities at a later date. The medal of Alexander VI.—'lavoro eccellente e degno di un grande incisore[3]' in Martinori's own words—is the original on which that of Hadrian is based.

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[1] The medal with the reverse design of a cross charged with nine rosettes may be based, so far as the obverse is concerned, on an early medal; but I am judging only from the illustration in *Trés. de Num., Méd. ital.* i. Pl. XXV. No. 3.

[2] *Annali*, Aless. VI. p. 21.

[3] The word *incisore* is, of course, unhappy, since the medal is cast. It is unfortunate that so many writers on the subject are so little careful to distinguish between the two methods of making medals, which differ almost as much as manuscript from printing.

Another medal (Pl. VIII. 1) seems to bear on the truncation of the bust traces of a signature, of which the second letter appears to be C. If the first were legible we should know whether to attribute the work to Nardo Corbolini;[1] but, where visible at all, it seems to resemble D rather than L or N; and indeed it is not impossible that the supposed traces of a signature are merely due to accidental flaws in casting. The reverse shows a view of Castel Sant' Angelo. On the side turrets are the Papal flag, and another which appears to be charged with the Borgia arms, with the crossed keys and tiara. The inscription reads: *Arcem in mole Divi Hadr*(*iani*) *instaur*(*atam*) *foss*(*a*) *ac propugnaculis mun*(*ivit*). Work on the Castle is also referred to by a rare medal[2] with a similar type and the inscription *Mo*(*lem*) *Ad*(*riani*) *val*(*lis*) *fo*(*ssis*) *prop*(*ugnaculis*) *cor*(*ridoris*)*q*(*ue*) *c*(*inxit*). Both pieces were probably used for foundation deposits.

The fourth contemporary medal (Pl. VII. 6)[3] has a fine portrait close in style to the coronation medal mentioned above. On the reverse is an allegorical design: the Borgia bull stands to right; an angel, hovering, places a wreath on his head; before him are a small sheaf, a bunch of flowers and a palm-branch falling to the ground. The inscription is *Ob sapientiam cum fortuna coniunc*(*tam*). Mr. W. H. Woodward suggests that the allusion is to Alexander's return to Rome in the summer of 1495 (June 27), when he received an ovation from the populace.

The attribution of this piece, as of the coronation medal, must for the present remain unfixed. There is some difficulty, if we accept the interpretation just mentioned and read the documents as they have usually been read, in seeing how Caradosso could have made it. He came to Rome on 23 Feb., 1495[4] and it is possible that the Pope may have given him a commission for a medal before leaving Rome on 27 May. If it is true that the medallist was back in Milan by 24 June,[1] he cannot have seen Alexander's triumph on 27 June. If the reverse of the medal refers to that event, and we insist on Caradosso's authorship, we must suppose that the specification, at least as regards the reverse, must have been sent to him at Milan. Possibly, however, the records have been misinterpreted, and Caradosso did not leave Rome before Alexander's return.[2]

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[1] Employed as engraver to the Papal Mint; died 1499 (Martinori, *Annali*, etc., Alessandro VI., p. 29).

[2] Yriarte, *Autour des Borgia* (1891) p. 81. I know this medal only from descriptions and from the illustration in Yriarte. It seems to be by a coarser hand than the other.

[3] *Trés. de Num.*, *Méd. ital.* i. Pl. XXV. No. 4.

[4] Letter from Rome to Lodovico il Moro, dated 25 Feb., 1495, formerly in the Morrison Collection, now belonging to Mr. W. H. Woodward. Caffi's statement (*Arch. Stor. Lomb.*, 1880, p. 601) that Caradosso wrote on 27 Feb. saying he was going to Rome is a mistake for 21 Feb. (See E. Piot in *Cab. de l'Amateur*, 1863, No. 26, p. 35.)

No contemporary medallist, so far as we know, attempted the portrait of Cesare Borgia. An interesting little medal exists, it is true, which is based on some fine original portrait, but it can hardly be earlier than the second third of the sixteenth century ; nor is there any reason to assign it to a Roman hand.[3]

In 1656 there was found at Fourvières near Lyon a large cast medallion (18 cm. in diameter), purely Italian in style, bearing a laureate head of some artistic quality in the pseudo-classical manner (Fig. 4).[4] The significance of this head has never been made out, and it may possess no more than do the heads of ' Roman Emperors ' which were so common an element in Renaissance decoration.[5] But this head is accompanied by an extraordinary collection of inscriptions in Hebrew, together with two words in Latin and Greek respectively : VMILITAS and (apparently) ταωύροσις. On the reverse is inscribed: *Post tenebras spero lucem felicitatis iudex dies ultimus. D. III. M.* These various inscriptions have been the object of endless conjectures ever since the first discussion by the Jesuit Claude-François Ménestrier in 1696. The various theories have been resumed by S. Ferarès,[6] whose own interpretation, unconvincing as it may be in many details, presents a number of attractive features. The chief point which has been made out so far is that the main Hebrew inscription is an acrostic giving the name of ' Benjamin the son of the wise 'Eliahu Beër, the physician,' in whose honour the medal was cast. Secondly, the letters D. III. M. on the reverse are naturally to be taken as a date, 1497. Whether the odd arrangement of the numerals is deliberate, and intended also to suggest 1503, is less certain. Ferarès reminds us that these two dates correspond with the first year in which Ferdinand and Isabella induced the Pope to place the Inquisition in power at Rome, and with the year of the Pope's death; Julius II. immediately on his accession brought relief to the persecuted Jews. From certain letters in the inscription, as well as from the Latin and Greek words, the French critic extracts with more ingenuity than plausibility numeral values which more or less confirm one or other of the two dates. In short, he regards the medallion as having been made to celebrate the accession of Julius II., and the end of the oppression of the Jews by the

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[1] When he was employed in connexion with the pledging of some of the Duke's jewels (Müntz in *Gaz. d. Beaux Arts*, xxvii., 1883, p. 494).

[2] Müntz says that a letter of 24 June, 1495, communicated to him by Caffi, shows Caradosso engaged in this business of the jewels. He does not say who wrote the letter (Lodovico or Caradosso ?) and whence. It has been assumed that this letter is evidence that Caradosso was in Milan at the time, but obviously the slovenly description given by Müntz does not suffice to prove this. The artist was certainly there on 12 Dec., 1495 (Müntz, *loc. cit.*).

[3] Illustrated by W. H. Woodward, *Cesare Borgia*, at p. 396 ; cp. p. 378.

[4] Reduced from *Rev. Num.*, 1910, Pl. viii.

[5] It seems to me to bear no resemblance to the head of ' Augustus ' (rather Constantine) on the medal by Cristoforo di Geremia, as Ferarès, the latest writer on the subject, supposes.

[6] *Revue Numism.* (1910) pp. 196 ff.

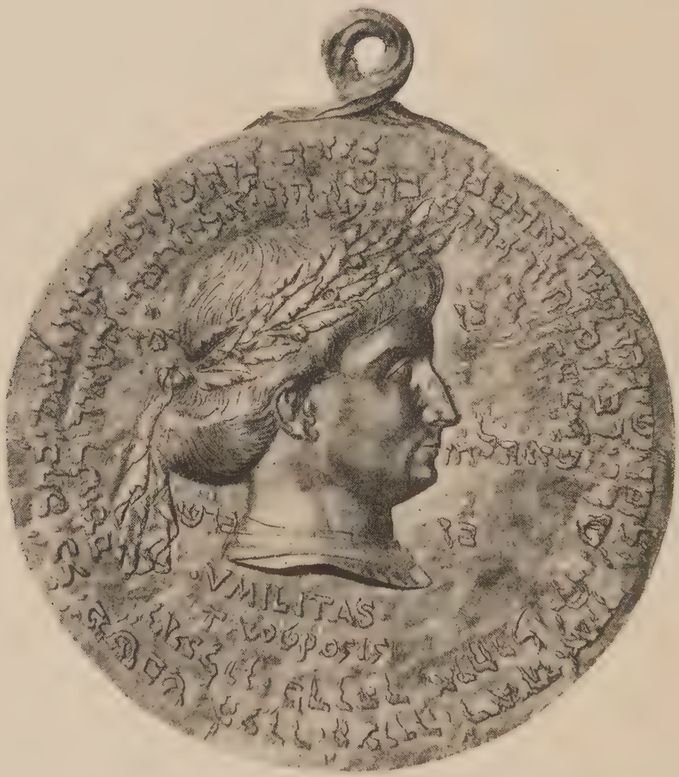
FIG. 4.—THE MEDAL OF FOURVIÈRES. ½ scale.

Inquisition. This general conclusion has certainly more attractiveness than some of the arguments by which it is reached. The last word has not been said on the puzzle ; meanwhile it remains one of the most curious products of Italian (probably, to be more precise, of Roman) art at the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century.[1]

The brief reign of Pius III. (22 Sept.—18 Oct., 1503) is not illustrated by any contemporary medals.[2] Julius II., on the other hand, patronised the medallic as he did the other arts. We have already mentioned the name of Caradosso.[3] Cristoforo Caradosso Foppa was the son of Gian Maffeo Foppa of Milan, and was born about 1452. Down to the time of the fall of Lodovico il Moro, and perhaps even later, he worked chiefly in Milan, though he travelled frequently, executing commissions for his prince, as when in 1495 he went to Florence to buy works of art from the Medici collection. In December, 1505, we find him in Rome, where he was to remain in the employment of Julius II., Leo X., Hadrian VI. and Clement VII. They employed him as goldsmith, setter and valuer of gems, and generally as their adviser in regard to antiques, but also, it would seem, as medallist. He died some time between 6 Dec., 1526, and 1 April, 1527.

The attribution to Caradosso of medals cast and coins engraved during his Milanese period is beset with uncertainties, and, to tell the truth, the identification of his work after he came to Rome is hardly less precarious. Most authorities agree in assigning to him the beautiful series of portrait coins or testoons of Giangaleazzo Maria, Lodovico il Moro, and Beatrice d'Este—pieces which easily take rank as the most beautiful portrait coins of modern times.[4] These seem to carry with them a set of eleven small medals, struck from dies, and of coin-like technique, which must have been made during the tenure of the Milanese dukedom by Louis XII., and bear the portraits of Louis himself, Gian Galeazzo Visconti, Francesco

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[1] All the specimens other than the one found at Fourvières and now in the Paris Cabinet seem to have been cast from that one.

[2] Unless one recorded by Armand (iii. p. 197, *A*) is contemporary. The inscription *Optimo principi* occupies the field of the reverse. I have not seen it.

[3] Summary of his career, with bibliography, in Thieme-Becker's *Allgem. Lex. d. bild. Künstler.* See also F. Malaguzzi Valeri's sanely sceptical account in *La Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, vol. iii. (1917) pp. 325 ff.

[4] Some, or perhaps all, of the portrait coins of Galeazzo Maria Sforza and Bona of Savoy, on the other hand, are from designs by Zanetto Bugatto, the dies being cut by Francesco da Mantova and Maffeo da Civate or his son Ambrogio. See F. Malaguzzi Valeri, *op. cit.* pp. 358–9.

Sforza, and the others already mentioned. Then we have two cast medals, one of Lodovico il Moro, which must have been made about 1488, and another of Francesco Sforza, which must date from about the same time; they are certainly by the same hand. No signature appears on any of these pieces, and we have no documentary evidence that they are by Caradosso. The reason for attributing them to him is apparently that there is no record of any other medallist of the time at Milan to whom they can be credited, although, as regards their design, the name of Ambrogio de Predis has been mentioned. If we compare them with medals attributed (also, with one exception, by conjecture) to Caradosso's Roman period, we can at least say that they are not mutually repellent; there is nothing which makes us exclaim that they cannot be by the same hand. There is also a medal (with two slightly variant reverses, consisting entirely of inscription) commemorating the old marshal Giàn Giacomo Trivulzio and his capture of Alessandria and defeat of Lodovico Sforza at Novara in 1499. Ever since the time of Lomazzo[1] (not a first-rate authority, but sometimes the vehicle of an old tradition) these pieces have been assigned to Caradosso. Some years ago J. de Foville[2] proposed to add to his work certain medals of Niccolò Orsini, count of Pitigliano and Nola, Captain General at various times of the armies of the Roman Church, of Venice and of Florence. The attribution is based on the resemblance to the medals of Francesco and Lodovico Sforza; but the portraits of Orsini have a dull mechanical touch which betrays another, less skilful hand.

Finally, we have a fixed point in a medal, struck from dies, which were engraved by Caradosso for Federigo II Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua (Pl. IX. 2). A letter from Federigo's agent at Rome, dated 26 Sept. 1522, informs us that the artist was then working on this medal.[3] It bears the motto *Gloriam afferte Domino* and represents David seated, playing his harp; his left foot rests on the head of Goliath, while Victory, alighting on the seat behind him, places a wreath on his head. In front, hanging on a stump, are his sling and sword. The work is of extreme delicacy, but the design is somewhat fussy. On the whole, this documented piece may be said to confirm the attribution to Caradosso of the medals of Lodovico il Moro and Francesco Sforza, and of the large medals of Julius II, to which we shall come later.

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[1] *Trattato d. pittura*, vi. c. 18, vii. c. 23.

[2] *Rev. Numism.* (1911) pp. 449 ff.

[3] Milanesi, apud Armand, iii. 34, *B*. Milanesi does not quote the words of the writer, or say how he describes the medal; but we must assume that it is the piece mentioned in the text, since Milanesi picks it out from the numerous other medals of the Marquis. This medal must be distinguished from the *impresa*, or badge, which 'quello maladetto vecchio' was commissioned to make for the Marquis in Sept., 1522, and which was still unfinished in July, 1524 (Bertolotti, *Artisti in rel. coi Gonzaga*, Modena, 1885, p. 92).

Cellini speaks of Caradosso in terms of enthusiastic praise, but it may be observed that he says nothing of any medals (in our sense) or coins of his; in fact it is noticeable that he rather implies that he did not engrave coin-dies. His words in his *Autobiography*[1] are: 'Questo huomo lavorava solamente di medagliette cesellate fatte di piastra, et molte altre cose; fece alcune Pace lavorate di mezo rilievo et certi Christi di un palmo, fatti di piastre sottilissime d'oro, tanto ben lavorate, che io giudicavo questo essere il maggior maestro, che mai di tal cose io havessi visto, et di lui più che di nessuno altro havevo invidia. Anchora c'era altri maestri che lavoravano di medaglie intagliate in acciaio, le quali son le madre et la vera guida a coloro che vogliono sapere fare benissimo le monete.' These 'medagliette' of Caradosso, as Cellini explains elsewhere, were hat-badges, made by a technique quite different from that of cast or struck medals[2]; and Caradosso seems to be contrasted with the people who made dies for coins or medals. The argumentum ex silentio is nearly always unsound, and we cannot take the evidence to prove that Cellini supposed that Caradosso did not make medals at all; but it seems clear that he did not regard them as taking an important place in the master's activity.

In dealing with medals to be attributed to Caradosso in his Roman period, since, so far as the archives have been searched, there is no documentary evidence of such works, with the exception of the medal of Federigo Gonzaga, we depend greatly on the statement of Vasari, in his life of Bramante.[3] He describes that architect's design of St. Peter's 'come si vede nelle monete che battè poi Giulio II. e Leon X., fatte da Carradosso eccellentissimo orefice, che nel far conj non ebbe pari; come ancora si vede la medaglia di Bramante fatta da lui molto bella.' Now we have already seen that the evidence of Cellini is, to say the least, not in favour of the view that Caradosso was a coin-engraver. Modern numismatic authorities are unanimous in rejecting the statement that Caradosso engraved dies for coins of Julius II. or Leo X.; and indeed there are no coins of these Popes that bear any resemblance to any of the Milanese testoons or to the medal of Federigo Gonzaga. Since the attribution of the testoons is not certain we should not lay much stress on the argument from them. But, further, the Vatican records yield no evidence of dies having been engraved by Caradosso. Vasari's statement is perhaps due to some notion that so distinguished a goldsmith as Caradosso could not have failed to have been employed on such work. It is in any case demonstrably a careless statement, since the medal of Bramante (Pl. IX. 1) is cast, not struck from dies. It represents the great architect's bust, undraped, with the arm cut off as if it were a piece of sculpture: a pseudo-classical touch natural enough in Rome at the time, but not to be found on other medals until the sixteenth century is well advanced. On the reverse is a figure symbolising Architecture; she is seated with her right foot on a weight, and holds a square and compasses; in the background is a view of St. Peter's, according to Bramante's design. The inscription is *Fidelitas Labor*.[1] The portrait, in spite of the affected treatment of the bust, is a remarkably powerful piece of characterisation. No one, so far as I know, has disputed Vasari's attribution of this medal to Caradosso. It bears no striking resemblance to the Milanese medals or to that of Federigo Gonzaga, but neither is it incompatible with them.

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[1] Ed. O. Bacci (1901), p. 52.

[2] *Op. cit.* p. 64; cp. *Oreficeria*, cap. v.

[3] Ed. Milanesi, iv. p. 161.

What then of the medals of Julius II.? There are two or three which have been assigned to the Milanese artist. One, which is struck from dies, and represents the conversion of St. Paul, has also been claimed for Francia (Pl. IX. 3). This is pure guess-work. In its hard and unimaginative style it is entirely in keeping with the technique of the coins which were issued from the mint during the time that the Florentine Pier Maria Serbaldi da Pescia (called Tagliacarne) was engraver,[2] and the piece may safely be attributed to him, as Martinori suggested.[3] But there is another portrait of Julius, cast instead of struck, and of much better quality (Pl. VIII. 3). It is dated 1506, and appears with two reverses; one representing the façade of St. Peter's with the cupola and two towers, after Bramante's design, and commemorating the 'Instauracio Templi Petri' (Pl. VIII. 3); the other displaying a landscape, with a shepherd seated under a tree and pointing out the way to his sheep, as they move down from a mountain; the motto on this piece is *Pedo servatas oves ad requiem ago* (Pl. VIII. 4) These two medals are generally supposed to be Caradosso's work; the attribution must for the present remain unproven though probable.[1] I see no reason to doubt that these medals and that of Bramante may be by the same hand. If the reverse of the second medal of Julius is photographically reduced to the same scale as the Milanese medals mentioned above, it makes, by its crowded composition, very much the same impression as they do. All three designs betray a certain restlessness of effect in common with the David of the Gonzaga medal. The portrait of Julius lacks the penetration and vigour of the portrait of Bramante. But it is natural that Caradosso should have had more intimate perception of his fellow-artist, whom he had known at Milan before they both came to Rome, than of so exalted a person as the head of the Church, with whom he had perhaps but just come in contact.

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[1] This medal, on which the sitter is called Bramantes Asdruvaldinus, must not be confused with the later copy, on which he is called Bramantes Durantinus, the view of St. Peter's is omitted, and the date 1504 is inscribed on the weight. The maker of this later copy has followed Vasari (or Vasari's authority) in making Bramante a native of Castel Durante instead of Monte Asdrualdo, and, having inscribed the date 1504 on the weight, has been obliged to omit the façade of St. Peter's, on which Bramante did not begin work until 1506. (See G. F. Hill, *Portrait Medals of Italian Artists*, 1912, p. 42.)

[2] Appointed for life by Alexander VI. on 24 Aug., 1499 (Martinori, *Annali*, Aless. VI., pp. 17, 29) he engraved the dies for the bullæ of Pius III. (*ibid.* p. 33), and continued to be employed under Julius II. and Leo X.

[3] *Op. cit.* p. 65.

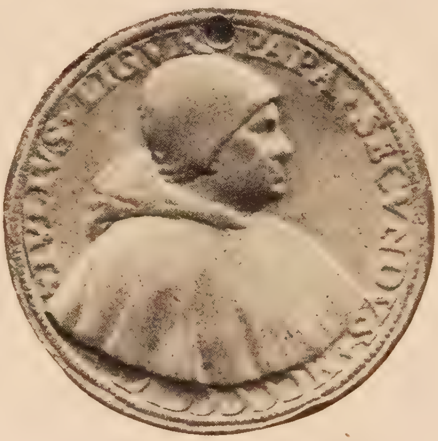
FIG. 5.—JULIUS II. BY CARADOSSO.

There is a variety of the medal of St. Peter's on which the Pope is represented wearing a large skull-cap and cape (cappa or mozzetta), instead of a cope (Fig. 5).[2] Armand, after a careful discussion, concludes that this is the piece of which two specimens in gold and ten in brass were placed in the foundations of St. Peter's on 18 April, 1506. He seems to me to lay too much stress on the fact (reported by Burckard) that the

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[1] Martinori (*op. cit.* p. 66) is 'not too well persuaded' by the attribution, as being conjectural and without documentary support.

[2] Armand, i. 108. 4, iii. 36*a*. I owe the cast of this specimen to the kindness of M. Jean Babelon.

Pope wore a cappa on that occasion. Since the same reverse, referring to the *Instauracio Templi Petri*, is attached to the portrait of the Pope clad in a cope, that variety was probably also represented in the foundation deposit. The specimen of the medal with the cappa in the Bibliothèque Nationale in no way supports the opinion of Geymüller, who says[1] that this variety is much superior in workmanship to the other, and represents the authentic work of Caradosso, the others being imitations. To judge from the cast, it is, if anything, inferior.

There are few artists of whom it it so true as it is of Caradosso that as soon as one begins to examine the grounds for the attribution of their works it crumbles away. There is but one single extant work of his that we can identify with certainty. Yet it is generally believed that he revolutionised the medallic art; that he not merely marks, but himself actually effected, the transition from the fifteenth century style to that of the sixteenth; and that much of the change in the character of the art which it is customary to attribute to Cellini is really due to him. This estimate is not based merely on modern conjectural attributions; his contemporaries, such as Pomponio Gaurico, Sabba Castiglione and Benvenuto Cellini, mentioned him with praise; for the first of these writers, he is one of the only two *caelatores* of the time worthy to be mentioned by name.[2] The medals which we have been describing at any rate mark the transition to the new style, and coincide with the beginning of his activity in Rome; it is not therefore wholly fantastic to see in them the hand, or at least the influence, of the man who was recognized as the leading metal-worker and goldsmith of his time in the Papal service.

It is possible that his activity as medallist was chiefly confined to the first years of his Roman period, and that when Cellini first settled at Rome in 1518 or 1519 Caradosso was doing comparatively little of this kind of work, although, as we have seen, he was engraving dies for a medal in 1522. Naturally therefore his medals might escape notice in Cellini's *Autobiography* (which he first began to write about 1558) or in his *Treatise on the Goldsmith's Art* (which he did not begin until about 1566).

Contemporary with the medals of Julius attributed to Caradosso is an interesting little struck piece[3] bearing the signature (V · C ·) of the

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[1] *Projets primitifs*, p. 258, No. 67.

[2] *De Sculptura* (1504), c. xvi., *ad fin.*

[3] Armand, i. 116. 10.

Venetian artist Vettor Gambello, whom we have already mentioned in connexion with Sixtus IV. The obverse is dated 1506. On the reverse is a text from i. Pet. v.2 : *Pascite qui in vobis est gregem Dei*. The subject is Peter giving the keys to the kneeling Pope, with Christ enthroned, his hand raised in blessing. The medal is quite in Gambello's style, and the doubt which has been expressed whether the letters V · C · are his signature seems to me to be uncalled for.[1] But in any case Gambello cannot be regarded as a Roman medallist, and need not detain us longer.

In spite of his name and origin, Giancristoforo Romano[2] whom we must next mention, worked for but a short time at Rome. An admirable medal of Julius, with the figures of Peace and Fortune grasping hands, and the inscription *Iustitiae Pacis Fideique Recuperator*, was produced by him in 1506 (Pl. VIII. 5). Born about 1465, he had been employed as a sculptor in Rome, being first mentioned in 1484. In 1491 he left Rome for the North, and worked chiefly at Milan and Mantua. The well-known medal of Isabella d'Este, which that of Julius strongly resembles, is first mentioned as having been made in 1498. Towards the end of 1505 he was recalled to Rome, and there, probably early in the next year, he made the medal of Julius. Leaving Rome sometime in 1507 he went to Naples. Giacomo d'Atri, Mantuan ambassador at Naples, in a letter of 24 Oct., 1507, remarks that Giancristoforo had made medals of Isabella d'Este and Julius II., and was making one of Isabella of Aragon ; also that he was going that day to Rome. He remained at Rome in 1508 and until after 1 Nov., 1509. He next appears at Urbino, among the company of Castiglione's *Cortegiano*. He died at Loreto on 31 May, 1512.

Giacomo d'Atri's statement is further borne out by a document[3] which tells us that on 14 Sept., 1506, Giancristoforo was paid for the dies of two medals made for Julius II., one of the Peace and the other of the Dearth. The former medal we have already mentioned ; the other, referring to the dearth of 1505, has been identified with a piece on the reverse of which is a personification of *Annona publica*: a running female figure, crowned with corn, with fluttering drapery, holding ears of corn and a horn of plenty.[1] I am bound to say that the authenticity of such specimens of this medal as I have seen is open to doubt; the style of those specimens suggests the hand of the later restorers who worked such havoc at the Papal Mint. One, at least, of the two versions is from dies which were in use in the nineteenth century for striking series of Papal Medals to be supplied to collectors.[2] These dies, it is of course possible, may have been based on earlier authentic dies.

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[1] Milanesi doubts it (*apud* Armand, iii. 45*b*) and so does Martinori (*op. cit.* p. 66, 1).

[2] See especially A. Venturi in *Arch. Stor. dell'Arte*, i. pp. 49–59, 107 ff. 148 ff. ; P. Giordani in *L'Arte*, x. (1907) pp. 197–208.

[3] Giordani, *op. cit.* p. 206 (in the volume 'Mandatorum' of the Camera Apostolica) : 'a Gian Christophoro scolptore D. 18 per haver fatto lo conio de duo medaglie, per N. Signore una della pace che se fece e l'altra della caristia.'

As regards the medal of the Peace, it is to be observed that the one which is identified with Giancristoforo's work, and which was attributed to him on stylistic grounds even before the document above-mentioned was known, is not struck from dies, but cast. The case is similar to that of Cellini's medal of Cardinal Bembo; the documentary evidence attests the existence of a struck medal, whereas the extant medal is cast from wax. It is possible that such cast medals represent the wax models made by the artists as a guide in engraving their dies.[3] But it is, to say the least, strange that, if the dies were finished, no specimens of medals struck from them should have survived. It may however be observed that the document says that Giancristoforo was paid for making a die, not for actually producing specimens struck from it. The latter may seem to be implied. Yet in the next case to be considered it is distinctly said that the artist was paid for coining two medals; and in this case struck medals were, as we know from extant specimens, actually produced. So that it is possible that, after all, the Pope preferred to reproduce Giancristoforo's models of the Peace medal by casting, rather than to use his dies, for which nevertheless payment was made.

A document dated 15 Nov., 1509,[4] proves that Giancristoforo was paid for striking two medals of the buildings of Rome and Civitavecchia. Giordani remarks that the medals which commemorate buildings erected in 1508 and 1509 were attributed by Friedländer to Francia. One of them, on which the Pope is described as *arcis fund*(*ator*), probably refers, he says, to a Palace built on the bank of the Tiber; on the reverse are a woman and a man seated by a river.[1] The other medal, that of Civitavecchia, he adds, is unfinished and perhaps not original; it recalls a medal of a similar subject which has been attributed to Caradosso.

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[1] Armand, ii. 110. 7; *Trés. de Num., Méd. des Papes*, Pl. IV. 4.

[2] Mazio, *Serie dei conj di medaglie Pontificie . . . esistenti nella Pontificia Zecca* (Rome, 1824), No. 34. The specimens in the London and Paris Cabinets are from such modern dies.

[3] Cp. Vasari's description of Francia's method, quoted by Friedländer, *Ital. Schaumünzen*, p. 175.

[4] Giordani, *loc. cit.* (from the same volume of Mandati). 'Pagato a Gian Christophoro sclptore D. 20 per coniare duo medaglie delli edificî di Roma et Civitavecchia.'

Now there are no fewer than four pieces referring to Civitavecchia under Julius. One[2] (struck, 41 mm. in diameter) reads PORTVS CENTVM CELLÆ and gives a view of the fortified port, with ships lying off it; but this is a 'restoration' by Paladino or some other artist of his time. The same inscription and type on a reduced scale (31 mm.) appear on another piece, struck from dies certainly not contemporary with the Pope.[3] Another[4] (also struck, 38 mm.), reads CENTVM CELLE, and omits the ships (Pl. IX. 9). This has more claim to be contemporary. In view of its lean and scratchy style it must be ranged with the pieces attributed to Pier Maria Serbaldi. A fourth, small piece (30 mm.) describes the Pope as *Arcis fundat*(*or*) and reads on the reverse CIVITA VECHIA[5]; it gives a view of the fortifications with three towers and the sea in front (Pl. IX. 6). This fourth piece is from the same hand as three other medals of the same small size. One of these (Pl. IX. 7)[6] shows a building with three crenelated towers, a flag on the middle, highest one; the inscription IVRI REDD(itum) identifies the building as the projected Palace of Justice (the Palazzo di S. Biagio della Pagnotta) in the new Via Giulia, which Bramante was commissioned to build but never carried out.[7] Another[8] reads TVTELA, and shows a shepherd tending his flocks (Pl. IX. 8). The third is the piece already described, with Justice and a blacksmith before a castle (Pl. IX. 5). These four medals, being obviously contemporary, may on the evidence of the document quoted above be safely assigned to Giancristoforo. The Tutela medal especially is a very pleasing example of his art as a die-engraver.

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[1] Friedländer, *op. cit.* p. 174, Pl. XXXIV. 12. The figures are Justice and a blacksmith; there is no river.

[2] *Trés. de Num.*, *Méd. des Papes*, Pl. IV. 2; Armand, ii. 112. 16; E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II. et de Léon X.*, Pl. XI.

[3] Arm., ii. 110. 8.

[4] *Trés. de Num.*, *Méd. des Papes*, Pl. IV. 1; Armand, ii. 112. 17.

[5] Arm., ii. 111. 14. The second word on all specimens that I have seen has only one C. Some specimens were struck off before the inscription was engraved on the reverse die, and this may be what Giordani is referring to when he speaks of an unfinished piece. It happens to be the most 'original' of them all.

[6] Arm., ii. 111. 12; cf. Supino, *Med. Mediceo*, No. 711.

[7] Martinori, *op. cit.* p. 68, note 6. Certain sketches and plans of the building are extant; cp. *P.B.S.R.* ii. p. 15, No. 11; *Boll. d'Arte*, viii. (1914), pp. 185–195.

[8] Friedländer, p. 175, Pl. XXXIV. 13; Arm. ii. 111. 11.

The medal inscribed CIVITA VECHIA is the subject of some interesting remarks by Paris de Grassis.[1] Under the year 1508 he describes how the Pope proceeded to the spot on the second Sunday in Advent and deposited about 300 medals in a vase in the foundations, in the cruciform bed of cement which also received the inscribed foundation-stone. Half the medals were made of 'auricalcum, quod brongium appellatur,' and half 'ex ere albo nescio cuius misture' (presumably bronze and brass respectively, although auricalcum should strictly mean the latter alloy), about the size of the double giulio (*i.e.*, about 30 mm. in diameter). He describes the types and inscriptions of the medals, and adds that the inscription CIVITAS VECCHIA puzzled him, 'cum vecchia non sit vocabulum latinum, tamen sic fuit in aliquibus.' Now no recorded existing specimens read CIVITAS; the inscription is always CIVITA VECHIA, to which no objection could be taken. What is more, the letters of this inscription have evidently been separately inserted in the die by means of an alphabet of punches, according to the method described by Cellini. This fact, as well as the existence of specimens in which the inscription is lacking altogether (Pl. IX. 4), prompts me to suggest that, possibly in consequence of the representations of Paris de Grassis, some correction was made in the reverse of this medal, so far as concerns the specimens which have come down to us.

There is at least one other medal [2] referring to the work of Julius as builder; it commemorates the laying out of the Belvedere. The composition of the portrait on the obverse and the style of the lettering are so much akin to those of the Peace medal, that, in spite of a greater coarseness in execution, there should be little hesitation in accepting it as the work of Giancristoforo (Pl. VIII. 6). Above a view of the palace and terraces (with the word VATICANVS M(ons) below) are the words VIA · IVL · III · ADIT · LON · M · ALTI · L · XX · P ·, giving apparently the measurement of the approaches from the Belvedere to the Vatican.

[1] Quoted by Bonanni, i. p. 157. Cp. B.M. Add. MS. 8441, fol. 249.

[2] Arm. ii. 110, 45; *Trés.*, Pl. IV. 3; E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II. et de Léon X.*, Pl. X.

[3] The abbreviations presumably mean Via Iulia trium adituum longitudinis mille altitudinis septuaginta pedum. Cp. Bonanni, *Num. Pont.*, i. p. 159.

These are all the medals of Julius II. which can be with more or less certainty attributed to known artists.[1] There remain one or two pieces which may be mentioned for completeness' sake. A small medalet[2] bears on the reverse a scorpion (not a cray-fish, as it has been called) with the inscription *Nolo mortem pec(c)atoris sed magis convertatur et vivat.*[3] The relation between the type and the inscription becomes clear when we remember that the scorpion was the emblem of heresy.[4] The allusion is evidently to that relaxation of the persecution of the Jews and other heretics by the Inquisition which, as we have already remarked in discussing another medal, signalised the beginning of the pontificate of Julius. It is impossible not to recall in this connexion the mot of Rodrigo Borgia who, while Vice-Chancellor under Innocent VIII., being reproached with the way in which the worst malefactors escaped punishment on payment of sums of money, replied: 'Deus non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut solvat et vivat.'[5]

Another piece, struck from dies, the obverse being the same as in the CENTVM CELLE medal described above, represents Justice and Abundance joining hands, with the inscription *Osculate sunt* (Pl. X. 1). Justice holds an olive branch and scales, Abundance a horn of plenty[6]; behind Abundance is apparently a fire burning on the ground. This is supposed by Venuti to refer to a reconciliation between the Orsini and the Colonna in 1511; but on what grounds, he does not tell us. If the figure which we have called Abundance were meant for Peace[7] he might be right. But the reference is probably not to any particular event so much as to what Julius supposed to be his general policy. A remark of Egidius of Viterbo has been aptly quoted in connexion with this medal: Julius, he says, was 'Iustitiae tenacissimus aeque ac Abundantiae cultor.'[8]

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[1] Of course, I ignore here medals, such as that by Sperandio, representing Julius before he became Pope, unless they were made at Rome; pieces referring to Bologna and probably made there; also a number of coins which are enumerated by various writers among his medals; and finally certain pieces of which the contemporaneity is disproved or highly doubtful.

[2] Arm., iii. 198*E*; another specimen is in the collection of the Earl of Portsmouth (26 mm., cast).

[3] Cp. Ezek., xxxiii. 11.

[4] The idea seems to go back to S. Ambrose; see U. Aldrovandi *de Anim. Insectis* (Bologna, 1638), p. 594.

[5] Infessura, ed. Tommasini, p. 245.

[6] Arm., ii. 112, 19; iii. 201 f.

[7] As Venuti supposed (p. 53), because the motto, from Ps. lxxxiv, 10, is [Iustitia et pax] osculatae sunt.

[8] Quoted by Bonanni, i. p. 145.

Finally there is little piece (29 mm.)[1] representing the Pope (a vivid portrait) with the curious inscription *Iulius Caesar Pont. II*. On the reverse are the Papal arms with the inscription *Benedii.* (sic) *qui venit i*(*n*) *no*(*mine*) *D*(*omini*) (Pl. X. 2). Bonanni explains this as referring to the Pope's entry into Bologna in 1506. Venuti, on the other hand[2] gives *Ligur* instead of *Caesar*, but says that the medal reading *Caesar* was invented by the heretics as a slander on the Pope; this information he gives on the evidence of a statement by some contemporary French diplomatic correspondent.

The Roman medals of persons other than the Pope made during the reign of Julius II. are not numerous. One (Pl. X. 3), a rare but not first rate work, known from specimens in the Museo Artistico at Milan and in the Berlin Museum,[3] represents Gabriele de' Gabrielli of Fano, who was made Cardinal Deacon of S. Agatha on 17 Dec., 1505, translated to S. Prassede on 11 Sept., 1507, and died on 5 Nov., 1511. As he is described as Cardinal, it must belong to the period between the earliest and latest of these dates, which is sufficient to refute the attribution to Lysippus which has been suggested. The Cardinal seems to have begun to learn Greek in his old age, for the reverse consists simply of an inscription in Greek: ΚΑΛΟΝ ΓΕΡΟΝΤΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑΛΛΗΝΩΝ (*i.e.* τὰ Ἑλλήνων) ΜΑΘΕΙΝ, an iambic senarius of which the spirit is more commendable than the metre.

It is probably to the reign of Julius that we must assign the interesting, though artistically mediocre, medal of the Spaniard Bernardino Carvajal (Pl. X. 4). Born in 1455, this man was promoted by Alexander VI., being a strong partisan of the Borgia faction, to be Cardinal of S. Marcellinus and S. Peter in 1493, and afterwards, on 2 Feb., 1495, of S. Croce. On 3 Aug., 1507, he was translated to the see of Albano. As one of the Cardinals who revolted against Julius II., and a leading spirit at the futile council of Pisa, he was deprived of his dignities on 24 Oct., 1511;

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[1] Arm., ii. 110, 4. I have to thank M. Dieudonné for a cast of the specimen at Paris. The original was struck. Bonanni (*Num. Pont.*, i. 139, 3) gives the inscription as *Benedict. q. venit*, etc.

[2] *Numismata Rom. Pontificum*, p. 47, No. ii and p. xii: 'Rem ab Haereticis confictam, et dolo malo excogitatam, Legatus quidam Aloysii XII. Galliae Regis, datis Januae literis ad Regem detulit, si fidem habeamus Valesio, qui hanc epistolam in collectione quadam Litterarum, quas Legati ad Galliae Reges Aloysium XII., Franciscum I., et Henricum II. scripsere, se legisse testatur.'

[3] *Burl. Mag.*, xiii. (1908), p. 286, Pl. III. 9; Katal. Simon, p. 54, No. 296*A*.

but Leo X restored him on 27 June, 1513. He died in 1522. The medal,[1] which describes him as Cardinal of S. Croce, and must therefore date between 1495 and 1507, illustrates his pretensions to learning.[2] On the reverse is the personification of Philosophy, a crowned and veiled female figure, wearing a voluminous mantle. She holds in her right hand rolls of manuscript, in her left a sceptre. From her breast to her feet depends a long ladder, at the top of which is the letter Θ, at the bottom, P.[3] These letters denote Theoretical and Practical Philosophy respectively, and the whole type is based on the vision of Boëthius.[4] The inscription is *Qui me dilucidant, vitam eternam habeb*(*unt*).

I can make no suggestion as to the authorship of these two medals.

It does not appear that Leo X., in spite of his love of the other arts, paid much attention to medallists. It is true that on 24 June, 1515, he gave to Vettor Gambello, the Venetian die-engraver and medallist, a life-appointment as engraver to the Papal Mint,[5] and that the influence of this admirable artist on the coinage is apparent, as in the gold piece of 2½ ducats with the reverse type of the Adoration of the Magi. But it is doubtful whether any of the regular medals of the Pope can be regarded as the work of Gambello. The best claim thereto is possessed. it would seem, by the reverse of a small medal[6] on which appears a very graceful figure of the goddess Roma, seated holding a little Victory, her helmet and shield on the ground beside her (Pl. X. 6). In the exergue is ROMA, in the field, in large lettering, CP, letters which de Foville interprets as *Camelius perfecit.* It must be confessed that this interpretation would have been more acceptable if other instances of the use of the form *perfecit* instead of *fecit* had been cited. But the question is settled by the contemporary authority quoted below, which gives the sense of the letters as *Consensu Publico.*[1] The plump modelling of the Pope's portrait (Pl. X. 5) does not remind us of any authenticated work by Gambello. What is more, the reverse does not fit the obverse exactly and was evidently made not for it, but for a portrait of Giuliano de' Medici, duc de Nemours (Pl. X. 6, 7), which is very different in modelling, lettering, composition and conception generally, although de Foville attributes both alike to Gambello.[2] This little piece carries with it a larger portrait of the Duke, conceived in the same style (but with draped bust and coarser in execution), which was made in 1513 (Pl. VIII. 7).[3] On the reverse is a Concordia group of Virtus and Fortuna ; the former, a heavily draped, veiled female figure, gives her right hand to Fortune (*fronte capillata*), who holds a horn of plenty and has a rudder at her side. The inscription is *Duce virtute comite fortuna.* There can be no doubt, says de Foville, that this work was modelled and cast at Rome, after the election of Leo X. (March, 1513). That event assured the triumph of his family, and is alluded to by the reverse.

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[1] Armand, i. p. 122. The specimen illustrated is in the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[2] The title of his Homily delivered before Maximilian at Mechlin on 4 Sept., 1508, describes him as *utriusque philosophiae facile princeps*.

[3] Armand has taken this P for an artist's signature.

[4] See E. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIII^e. siècle en France* (1898), pp. 121 f. The medal represents Philosophy as wearing a crown, but this is not mentioned by Boëthius; on the other hand the medallist omits the clouds in which the mediæval artists involved her head. 'Vestes,' says Boethius (*de Cons. Phil.*, i. 1), 'erant tenuissimis filis, subtili artificio, indissolubili materia perfectae. . . . Harum in extremo margine Π, in supremo vero Θ legebatur intextum. Atque inter utrasque litteras in scalarum modum gradus quidam insigniti videbantur, quibus ab inferiore ad superius elementum esset adscensus. . . . Et dextra quidem eius libellos, sceptrum vero sinistra gestabat.' There are other details which the medallist has not attempted to reproduce. For some reason he has substituted Latin P for Greek Π.

[5] Martinori, *Annali*, Leone X., etc., p. 13. For Gambello at Rome see J. de Foville, 'Camelio,' in *Rev. de l' Art anc. et mod.*, xxxii. pp. 280 ff. Among many fanciful attributions, de Foville's suggestion that the small medals of Leo X. and Giuliano de' Medici, Duke of Nemours, are by Gambello seems comparatively plausible.

[6] Armand, ii. p. 113, No. 26; *Rev. de l'Art*, xxxii. pp. 281 (rev.) and 286 (obv.).

We happen to know, as a matter of fact, the occasion for which the smaller medal of Giuliano was made. In a contemporary description, to be quoted later, of the festivities at the adoption of Giuliano as a citizen and baron of Rome on 13 Sept., 1513, we are told that a large number of medals of the Magnifico with *Roma* on the reverse were thrown to the people.[1]

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[1] See p. 59, note 1.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 281. The medal exists in two versions, one reading MAG. (Pl. X. 7), the other MAGNVS IVLIANVS MEDICES (Pl. X. 6) ; the latter is the earlier, and has finer lettering than the other, but the portrait is from the same model on both pieces. C.P. had been explained as Cavinus Patavinus (Keary, *Brit. Mus. Guide*, No. 222), but the style of the medal alone disproves the attribution to that artist. Milanesi (in Armand, iii. 193*a*) remarks that one of the extant medals of Giuliano may be that which is recorded as having been made for Cardinal Giovanni de' Medici by the Sienese goldsmith Giov. Batt. di Bernardino. The obverse with *Magnus* is also found enlarged to 41 mm. by the addition of a laurel-wreath border (Arm., ii. 94, 4). I observe that the letters C.P. have been explained as a signature on a medal of Lorenzo II., Duke of Urbino (Arm., iii. 191*B*). Here the ever fertile Milanesi says that the letters doubtless denote the Florentine goldsmith Paolo di Clemente Tassini, who was born in 1477. Armand says that this medal is in the Florence Gallery, but it is not included in Supino's catalogue.

[3] *Trés. de Num., Méd. ital.*, ii. Pl. XXXII. 3 ; Heiss, *Méd. de la Renaissance, Florence*, i. Pl. XX. 5.

If the authorship of these medals is uncertain, the piece which comes to be mentioned next is undoubtedly the work of Gambello ; on the other hand, its connexion with Leo X. is quite conjectural. It is a plaquette[2] in the collection of the late M. Gustave Dreyfus, representing a lion standing to left, its right fore-foot placed on a globe. The inscription above is R · ANIM · V and below is the signature V · CAMELIO · FA · Martinori describes this as the only medal of Leo X. signed by the engraver. That it does refer to Leo at all is a matter of conjecture, based on the type, and favoured by the fact that many of the allegorical representations of the time alluded to the Pope as a lion.[3]

Leo X. and the Duke de Nemours are associated on another pair of medals (Pl. IV. 6 and 5) very different in style from those just described.[1] Large and coarse, but powerful portraits, they are quite clearly the work of the same hand.[2] The medal of Leo has been described by Fabriczy as the best that we have of him. The portrait of the Duke (Pl. IV. 5)—the good one of Lorenzo's three sons—expresses his lack of strength of character, but seems to add a touch of cynicism which history does not confirm. There is no doubt that these medals were made at the beginning of Leo's reign. That of the Pope (Pl. IV. 6) is inscribed *Gloria et honore coronasti eu*(*m*) *De*(*us*), and bears the Medici shield surmounted by crossed keys and tiara ; it is thus a coronation medal. That of Giuliano shows Florence reclining under a laurel-tree, resting on the Medici shield, with the inscription *Reconciliatis civibus magnificentia et pietate*, referring to the entry of Giuliano into Florence in Sept., 1512, and the restoration of the Medici rule. But it was probably not made until after Leo's election, and the summoning of Giuliano to Rome in 1513.[3] The Duke is described as *Iulianus Medices L*(*aurentii*) *F*(*ilius*) *P.R.* The last two letters mean *Patricius Romanus*.[4]

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[1] Brit. Mus. MS. Harl. 3462 f. 6 v^{o}. : 'dopoi Berecintia geto al populo gran numero de medaglie del prefato Mag^{co} cū Roma da riuerso.' Dr. Thomas Ashby also kindly supplies me with the following passages bearing on these medals : Marco Antonio Altieri (ed. Pasqualucci, *Giuliano de' Medici eletto cittadino Romano ovvero il Natale di Roma nel* 1513, Rome, 1881, p. 52, after describing the speech made by a boy dressed as Roma in the Theatre on the second day) 'et in queste simili parole, per quelle Ninfe, che smontate gli stavano alli piedi, aperti certi lor Borscioni, ne cavaro numero infinito di Medaglie in forma d'argento, et ancora di rame stampate da l'un de lati l'immagine di Ś. Magnificentia, et dall' altro, un Marte che sedeva, in spoglie acquistate da Nemici, con l'espressione di questi tali lettere C. P. cioè, consenso pubblico, e si sparse per tutto il Teatro.' Paolo Palliolo of Fano (ed. O. Guerrini, *Le Feste pel conferimento del Patriziato Romano a Giuliano e Lorenzo de' Medici*, Bologna, 1885, p. 109) 'intanto M. Camillo Portio gentiluomo romano, autore della presente farsa, fece sparger nel Theatro da li medesmi Coribanti buon numero di medaglie della qui annotata grandezza, in nulla parte alle antique inferiori di bellezza et arte. Da un lato è ritratta naturalmente la testa del Mag^{o} Jul^{o} con le littere qui descritte [MAG IVLIANVS MEDICES]. Da l'altro lato se vede Roma sotto spetie di una vaga damigella, nuda tutta, excetto che tiene intorno un certo manto annodato sopra la spalla sinistra. Sede sopra certi trophei de scudi, ha in mano la Vittoria. Dalle bande et sotto li piedi sono le littere descritte in questo cerchio [CP ROMA].'

On the scene of the ceremony, see Ashby in *P.B.S.R.* vi. pp. 194 ff.

[2] Arm., iii. p. 45*D* (Martinori, *Annali*, Leone X., etc., p. 23). I have not seen the piece.

[3] As for instance in the procession described by Chieregato (p. 60, note 4). Is the inscription meant for *Refrigerium* (*requiem*) *animabus vestris* (Jer. vi. 16, Matth. xi. 29) ? If so, it is no coincidence that among the Medici devices used by Leo is a yoke with the motto *suave* (Matth. xi. 30). For medals with this device, see Typotius, *Hierogr. Pont.*, p. 31, No. 20 ; Bonanni, *Num. Pont.*, i. 163, 12 ; Venuti, *Num. Rom. Pont.*, p. 370, No. 12. The last writer describes this piece as an, 'emblema.' A specimen in the British Museum (75 mm., set in a rim making 86·5 mm.), the only one I have seen, is hardly earlier than the eighteenth century ; and I doubt whether a contemporary medal with this type ever existed. But the device is frequently found on other contemporary objects associated with Leo ; see, *e.g.* A. Marquand, *Robbia Heraldry* (1919) figs. 215, 219.

With these two large medals, it would appear, must be classed a third, representing Antonio Maria Ciocchi of Montesansavino.[5] Born in 1461, he was promoted Cardinal of S. Vitale in 1511, and afterwards on 14 July, 1514, of S. Prassede, being translated to the see of Albano on 24 July, 1521. He took a prominent part in the Lateran Council which was summoned, largely at his own instigation, by Julius II. in 1511, and sate from May, 1512, until March, 1517. The real object of this Council was to counteract the work of the rebellious Cardinals who summoned the Council of Pisa; and the part played by the Cardinal of S. Prassede may be referred to by the inscription on this medal, which describes him as Cardinal Priest of S. Prassede, and Ec(clesiasticae) Li(bertatis) Asser(tor) acerr(imus) SS(ectarum)q(ue) hos(tis) perp(etuus). The type is a bird, holding a wreath in its left foot, standing on a triple mount, the wreath and the mount being elements in the family coat of arms. The attribution of this medal to the same hand as those of Leo and his brother discussed above is due to Bode,[1] and is certainly borne out by the illustration in the *Museum Mazzuchellianum*.

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[1] I refer for details to the *Burlington Magazine*, xxxi. (1917), p. 182, where both medals are illustrated.

[2] This community of authorship has been observed by Bode, *Zeitschr. f. bild. Kunst.*, xv. p. 41, though the affinity of the artist to Sangallo, which he recognises, seems to me to be purely superficial, in that both artists worked coarsely and on a large scale. I may add that the idea that either of the medals is an eighteenth century 'restitution,' as suggested by Milanesi in connexion with the medal of Leo X. (Arm., iii. p. 62), and by Armand himself (ii. p. 94, 3 note) with that of Lorenzo, cannot be reasonably entertained.

[3] He was made a citizen and baron of Rome on 13 Sept., 1513. From Francesco Chieregato's account of the festivities on this occasion (Br. Mus. MS. Harl. 3462, quoted by Creighton, *Hist. of the Papacy*, v. p. 227) it appears that the last car in the procession contained 'Florence weeping for her children, whom she vainly implored Cibele (*sic*) to restore. Cibele to console her proposed at last that Rome and Florence should confederate, nay should become one together and enjoy the same rule. Florence and Rome agreed to the proposal, and medals were scattered amongst the crowd to celebrate the happy union.' These were the medals with Roma on the reverse described above (p. 57).

[4] The dignity of *Patricius Romanus* was conferred on Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici at the same time; see the account of the ceremony by Paolo Palliolo, ed. Guerrini, cited above (p. 59, note 1).

[5] Armand, ii. 97, 19 ; *Mus. Mazzuchellianum*, i. xlv. 1.

But few of the remaining medals with the portrait of Leo X. appear to be contemporary. One piece may have been cast soon after his death (Pl. X. 8).[2] The inscriptions on the reverse are *Fiat pax in virtute tua* (from Ps. cxxi. 7) and *Memorie optimi pon(tificis)*. It shows three figures, Peace, Justice and Abundance, all standing to front. Peace applies a torch to a helmet and shield lying at her feet. She holds in her right hand the Medici badge, of a diamond ring accompanied with plumes and a scroll, on which, but for the smallness of the scale, we should be able to read the Medici motto SEMPER. Justice holds sword, scales and yoke (we have already noted the use of the yoke as a device by Leo). Abundance places her right hand on her bosom and rests her left arm on a horn of plenty.

Although it is of no artistic importance, being indeed merely a disk of bronze with inscriptions on both sides, a medal may be mentioned here in the hope that some one may be able to explain the occasion of its issue.[3] On one side it reads *Leonis Decimi Pont. Max. beneficio anno Domini MDXVII*; on the other *Io. Bap. Branconius Aquilanus a Cubiculo Secretus*. Giovanni Battista Branconi dell'Aquila, chamberlain of the Pope, is otherwise known as the owner of a Palace in the Borgo, for which Raphael furnished plans in 1520, and which was destroyed in 1660. He died in or before 1525.[4]

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[1] Katal. Simon, No. 216. I have not seen an original.

[2] Arm., ii. 113, 22. Heiss, *Méd. de la Ren*, *Florence*, i. p. 159, No. 6.

[3] Venuti, p. x., mentions one in the collection of Baron Stosch. There is a specimen in the British Museum (42 mm., cast).

[4] E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II., etc.*, p. 205; C. Hülsen and H. Egger, *Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten von Heemskerck* i. (Berlin 1913) fol. 55 v. and p. 31.

Two medals of Cardinal Scaramuccia Trivulzio[1] must not be passed over, since they were made, probably, in Rome between 1517 and 1519. Fabriczy has claimed them for Caradosso [2]; but an analysis of their style suggests that they may be regarded as early works of Cellini.[3] I believe both versions of the medal (of which the larger is illustrated in Pl. VIII. 8) to have been made by Cellini while, as he himself admits, he was working under the influence of the older artist. The portrait shows a certain crispness and freshness of handling which was sacrificed in other later medals (such as those of Jean de Lorraine and Pietro Piantanida) to greater facility and subtlety of technique.

The limits of this essay absolve us from the task of studying the work of Cellini under Clement VII. But we have carried the history of the medal in Rome far enough. It cannot be said that hereafter it loses its specifically Roman property; indeed, its official character becomes more accentuated. That very fact, however, deprives it of much of its artistic interest. Good artists who worked in Rome after this time, either on the coins or on the medals of the Popes, seldom put their best work into them: Valerio Belli, Giovanni Bernardi da Castelbolognese, Giovanni Zacchi, Leone Leoni are best represented by medals which have no connexion with Rome. Alessandro Cesati may appear to be an exception to the rule; his best work was done in Rome, but he is a second-rate artist, though in point of mere technique he takes a very high rank. Occasionally we find a medallist producing work of fine quality for private persons in Rome. There is, for instance, a small group of medals, some signed with a monogram of the letters T and P, others unsigned but apparently by the same hand, which seem to have been made in Rome round the year 1540, and represent, among others, Ottavio Farnese and his wife Margaret of Austria, and the Cardinals Pietro Bembo, Ippolito II. d'Este and Antonio Pucci.[4] They are among the most skilfully executed and at the same time thoughtfully conceived portraits of the time, showing more insight into character than the works of Pastorino,

Rodocanachi gives the date of Branconi's death as in the text; but Lanciani (*Storia degli Scavi* i. p. 211) reports him still alive in 1543.

[1] Bishop of Como, 12 April, 1508; Cardinal of S. Ciriaco, 6 July, 1517; resigned his bishopric of Como, 1519; administrator of see of Piacenza, 26 Sept. 1519; resigned, 1525; died, 3 Aug., 1527.

[2] *Ital. Medals*, p. 171.

[3] *Burlington Magazine*, xviii. (1910), p. 14.

[4] *Burlington Magazine*, xxix. (1916), pp. 251 f.

with which they have for the most part been confounded. It seems possible that the monogram may represent Tommaso d'Antonio Perugino, called Fagiuolo, who was appointed to the Papal Mint in 1533 and worked there until 1541.[1] The fact that no medal of a Pope can, as far as we know, be attributed to him is, in view of what has just been said, anything but incompatible with the identification proposed.

It remains to express my thanks to those owners of medals (especially Mr. Maurice Rosenheim) and directors of Museums to whose kindness in allowing me to have casts the illustration of this article is due, as will be seen from the key to the plates; and also to Mr. W. H. Woodward, who was good enough to read my manuscript, and make some very useful suggestions, especially in regard to Caradosso. But my especial debt is to Dr. Thomas Ashby, who has read the proofs with great care and provided important additions and corrections, too numerous to be acknowledged in each case.

September, 1919.

KEY TO THE PLATES.

Where not otherwise described, the specimens illustrated are in the British Museum and are of bronze or brass. Mere gilding is not mentioned.

PLATE I.

1. Guaccialotti, Pius II., *Arms*. See p. 19.
2. ,, Pius II., *Pelican*. See p. 19.
3. ,, Niccolò Palmieri. See p. 20.
4. Cristoforo di Geremia, Paolo Dotti. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 28.
5. Guaccialotti, Sixtus IV., 1481. See pp. 29, 30.
6. ,, Alfonso of Calabria. See pp. 32, 66.
7. Gianfrancesco della Rovere, reverse. (Paris.) See p. 38, note 1.

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[1] Martinori, *Annali*, Clemente VII. pp. 153, 168; Paolo III. p. 18.

PLATE II.

1. Guaccialotti, Calixtus III. See p. 19.
2. ,, Guillaume d'Estouteville. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 20.
3. Pier Barbò, *Arms*. See p. 22.
4. Cristoforo di Geremia, Lodovico Scarampi. See pp. 23, 33.
5. Paul II., rev., *Palace of S. Marco*. See p. 22.
6. Cristoforo di Geremia., Paul II., *Tribune of St. Peter's*. See p. 24.
7. Aristotile Fioravanti, Paul II., *Letitia Scholastica*. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 22.

PLATE III.

1. Cristoforo di Geremia, Paul II. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 24.
2. Andrea da Viterbo (?), Paul II., Bulla medal. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 30.
3. Cristoforo di Geremia, Guillaume d'Estouteville. See p. 28.
4. Marcello Capodiferro. See p. 29.
5. Lysippus, Martinus Philethicus. (Paris.) See p. 33.
6. Lysippus, Giov. Alvise Toscani (rev.). See p. 35.
7. Lysippus, Raffael Riario. See p. 34.

PLATE IV.

1. Andrea da Viterbo (?), Paul II. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 30.
2. Cristoforo di Geremia, Constantine the Great. See pp. 26, 40.
3. ,, ,, Alfonso V. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 24
4. Guaccialotti (?), Sixtus IV. (Owner unknown.) See p. 27.
5. Giuliano de' Medici, *Florence*. See pp. 59, 60.
6. Leo X, *Arms*. See pp. 59, 60.

PLATE V.

1. Lysippus, Malitia de Gesualdo. (Victoria and Albert Museum, Salting Collection.) See p. 34.
2. Lysippus, Sixtus IV., *Ponte Sisto*. See p. 35.
3. Sixtus IV., *Coronation*. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 35.
4. Gambello, Sixtus IV., *Audience*. (Brussels.) See p. 35.

PLATE V. (*continued*).

5. Sixtus IV., *Fortress of Ostia.* (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 35.
6. Giuliano della Rovere. See p. 36, note 1.

PLATE VI.

1. Lysippus, Giov. Alvise Toscani (obv.). See pp. 34, 35.
2. Guillaume de Poitiers. *Mercury and Church.* See p. 40.
3. Lysippus, *Self.* See p. 34.
4. Candida, Clemente and Giuliano della Rovere. See p. 38.
5. Bernardino Gamberia. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 39.
6. Girolamo Callagrani. (Munich.) See p. 38.
7. Innocent VIII., *Peace, Justice and Abundance.* See p. 39.

PLATE VII.

1. Guglielmo Batonatti. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 36.
2. School of Lysippus, Diomede Caraffa. (Florence.) See p. 37.
3. Ascanio Maria Sforza. See p. 36.
4. School of Lysippus, Francisco Vidal. (Paris.) See p. 37.
5. Giovanni Candida (?), *Self.* (Modena.) See p. 37.
6. Alexander VI., *Borgia bull and angel.* Lead. See p. 42.
7. Alexander VI, *Coronation.* (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 41.

PLATE VIII.

1. Alexander VI., *Castel Sant' Angelo.* See p. 42.
2. Innocent VIII., *Arms.* See p. 39.
3. Caradosso, Julius II., *St. Peter's.* See p. 49.
4. ,, Julius II., *Shepherd.* See p. 49.
5. Giancristoforo Romano, Julius II., *Peace and Fortune.* Lead. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 51.
6. Giancristoforo Romano (?), Julius II., *Belvedere.* See p. 54.
7. Giuliano de' Medici. *Virtue and Fortune.* See p. 58.
8. Cellini (?), Scaramuccia Trivulzio. (Whitcombe Greene Collection.) See p. 62.

PLATE IX.

1. Caradosso, Bramante. (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 48.
2. Caradosso, Federigo II. Gonzaga. Silver. (Henry Oppenheimer Collection.) See p. 46.

PLATE IX. *(continued)*.

3. Pier Maria Serbaldi, Julius II., *Conversion of St. Paul.* See p. 48.
4. Giancristoforo Romano, Julius II., *Civita Vecchia* (uninscribed). See p. 54.
5. ,, ,, ,, *Justice and blacksmith.* (Paris.) See p. 53.
6. ,, ,, ,, *Civita Vecchia.* (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See p. 53.
7. ,, ,, ,, *Palace of Justice.* See p. 53.
8. ,, ,, ,, *Shepherd.* (Paris.) See p. 53.
9. Pier Maria Serbaldi (?), Julius II., *Centumcelle.* (Paris.) See p. 53.

PLATE X.

1. Pier Maria Serbaldi (?), Julius II., *Justice and Abundance.* See p. 55.
2. Julius II., *Arms.* (Paris.) See p. 56.
3. Gabriele de' Gabrielli. (Milan.) See p. 56.
4. Bernardino Carvajal. (Victoria and Albert Museum.) See p. 56.
5. Leo X. See p. 58.
6. Giuliano de' Medici, *Roma.* (Maurice Rosenheim Collection.) See pp. 57, 58.
7. Giuliano de' Medici. See p. 58.
8. Leo X., *Peace, Abundance, and Justice.* See p. 61.

NOTE.—The monogram engraved on the shoulder-plate of the armour worn by Alfonso of Calabria, on the medal by Guaccialotti (Pl. I. 6), is the mark of the armourer (a Milanese?) who made the suit. See *Burlington Magazine*, xxxvi. (1920), p. 49.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. 3.

THE PALAZZO ODESCALCHI.

(*See Vol. VIII., pp.* 57 *seqq.*).

BY THOMAS ASHBY, D.LITT., F.S.A.

THE history of the palace of the Colonna family which stood on the site which was afterwards occupied by the Palazzo Odescalchi is by no means completely known: but the researches which Sig. Francesco Tomassetti has been good enough to make in the Boncompagni Ludovisi archives, with the kind permission of the Prince of Piombino, have thrown a considerable amount of light on it: and I therefore give the results of his investigations, which have brought to light some very interesting facts.[1]

We saw that Bufalini's plan of Rome (1551) showed a palace of the Colonna family existing on a part of the site. This palace belonged to Pierfrancesco Colonna, lord of Zagarolo and Colonna, and passed with these estates to his heiress Vittoria, who married Camillo Colonna. The latter died in 1558, and his widow gave it on July 10, 1562, with the rest of her property (Zagarolo and Colonna) to her sons Cardinal Marcantonio and Prospero Colonna and her grandson Marzio, son of Pompeo Colonna, in equal portions, on condition that in case of the death of one, the others should succeed in the order given.[2]

The Cardinal, to whose share the palace fell, at once began to improve the property by purchasing other houses, with the object, no doubt, of acquiring the whole block. Earlier in 1562 he had bought a house from the nunnery of S. Giacomo alle Muratte, which is described as facing on to the Piazza SS. Apostoli, with the palace (which is already spoken of as belonging to the Cardinal, so that the formal deed must have been drawn up somewhat later than the actual gift) on one side of it, and some property of the monastery of SS. Apostoli on the other, and the property of one Giacomo da Perugia at the back (Doc. 3). It was in the direct occupation of the Servite fathers of S. Marcello, to whom an annual rent of 16 giulii was due, and who gave their consent to the sale on June 9 (Doc. 4). In 1581 he bought from one Giovanni Felice, for the price of 61 scudi, a ground-floor room facing on to the Piazza, adjoining the garden of the fathers of S. Marcello and his own property (Doc. 6), and also the rest of the house, which belonged to Regolo Celsi (Doc. 14). In the next year Pompeo Colonna, Duke of Zagarolo, the father of Marzio, bought this garden for 2046 : 96 scudi, with a tower and two stables. According to Doc. 14, the purchase was made jointly with the Cardinal. It is described as facing the monastery, and being situated at the north-east angle of the block, with the Piazza on one side, the street leading to it from the Corso (Via dei SS. Apostoli) on another, and on the third and fourth sides the palace and garden of Cardinal Marcantonio Colonna (Doc. 7: June 25, 1582). It is no doubt the garden with two trees in it shown in Du Pérac's bird's-eye view. In 1589 the Cardinal bought from Giovanni,[1] son of the late Domenico de Rotella, a house with a storeroom and a garden, on the side towards S. Marcello, facing on to the Piazza, and enclosed on the other sides by his own property, at the price of 1205 : 18 scudi (Doc. 9).[2] The Cardinal had also acquired two houses from Panta Ricci and Cornelia Rastella, in order to incorporate them with his own palace: and on June 27, 1594, he executed a document acknowledging his obligation to pay a ground rent of 17 scudi a year to the Company of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso[3] in respect of them (Doc. 10: Doc. 11 is a receipt for one year's rent of the same date).

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[1] The documents relating to the palace are all bound in one volume (Armadio IX. prot. 313). They will be cited as 'Doc.' followed by their respective numbers.

[2] A summary of the history of the palace from 1562 to 1622 is given in Doc. 14 (the Brief of Pope Gregory XV. confirming the sale of the palace to Cardinal Ludovisi). For the deed of gift *inter vivos* of July 10, 1562, see Coppi, *Memorie Colonnesi*, 333; Tomassetti, *Campagna Romana Antica, Medioevale, e Moderna*, iii. 418, 430.

The Cardinal had received from his brother Pompeo a deed of gift of all his property (Doc. 14) on June 7, 1565, and on December 20 of the same year he executed a similar deed in favour of his brother and his nephew. On the death of Pompeo, the Cardinal repeated the gift on October 10, 1583, in favour of his nephew and his male heirs by primogeniture, and further confirmed it on October 11, 1591, on which date Marzio's other uncle, Prospero, executed a similar deed of gift in his nephew's favour. It was thus that, on the death of his uncles, Marzio succeeded to the whole of their property, including the palace: he let it free of rent to Cardinal Francesco d'Avila, for his life, but on a repairing lease, in execution of the terms of which he built the apartment known as 'l'appartamento nuovo' facing the Piazza (Doc. 14). On September 25, 1604, the grandsons of the late Sebastiano di Giordano of Zagarolo sublet to Marzio a house in the Corso facing the palace of the Aldobrandini, for the annual rent of 12 scudi,[1] and on December 9, 1610, the fathers of S. Marcello gave their formal consent (*ib.*).

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[1] He is referred to as Giovanni Domenico Paolucci in Doc. 14.

[2] April 20, 1589. The house is described as 'domus terrinea, solarata et tectata cum apotheca et discoperto seu horticello.' The garden was in the direct occupation of the fathers of S. Marcello.

[3] *Papers*, viii. p. 57.

Cardinal d'Avila died in the palace on January 20, 1606. As we have already seen, the extravagance of Marzio led his heir, Pierfrancesco, into such serious financial embarrassment that he was obliged to sell most of his property to Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi to pay his father's debts. A copy of the deed of sale of the palace bearing date May 22, 1622, is preserved in the Boncompagni-Ludovisi archives (Doc. 13), and so is the original brief of Pope Gregory XV., confirming the sale, and dated June 15 of the same year (Doc. 14). The price paid was 39,000 scudi.

The Cardinal obtained the consent of Philip IV. of Spain to the purchase on August 22, with permission to mortgage the fiefs that he held within the Kingdom of Naples as security for the charges on the palace (Doc. 15). He then proceeded to improve the value of the property by compounding for the various annual charges upon it. Thus, he obtained a release from the Company of SS. Ambrogio e Carlo al Corso, from the ground rent of 17 scudi a year due to them (Doc. 20 is a Papal brief, dated April 5, 1623, confirming the release); he purchased the house which Marzio Colonna had leased from the grandsons of Sebastiano di Giordano, from the fathers of S. Marcello (Doc. 17 is the architect's valuation, Doc. 18 a copy of the consent given by the fathers to the purchase of the palace, as proprietors of a part of it, and their discharge of the Cardinal from the obligation of paying ground rents annually, on consideration received of 18 'luoghi' in the loan known as the Monte S. Bonaventura, a loan issued by Sixtus V. Cf. Moroni, *Dizionario*, xl. 151. Doc. 22 is the original brief confirming the release, dated April 24, 1623): and on February 10, 1623, he, as Cardinal Chamberlain, issued a permission to himself, in his private capacity, to occupy a portion of the public street, 191 palms in length and 3½ in width (about 140 feet long by 2 wide), in order to incorporate it in his palace (Doc. 19).

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[1] The house had been granted in emphyteusis (or hereditary lease) to Sebastiano and his heirs to the third generation at this rent by the fathers of S. Marcello on October 31, 1547: it is there referred to as situated between the property of Giovanni Maria Tassi and the property of the church of S. Maria in Via Lata, with the property of Cosma Lothoriga (probably Lotaringa, *i.e.*, the Lorrainer) behind (Doc. 1). It is, further, referred to in the document published in *Papers*, viii. p. 87. I know no more of the palace of the Aldobrandini in the Corso (see Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, iv. 179). We have no evidence to enable us to identify more accurately the house which the fathers of SS. Apostoli let in emphyteusis to the third generation to Paolo de Marchi, a Sicilian barber, on September 19, 1547, for a rent of 10 scudi per annum, and which was situated in the Piazza, facing the church: but as a copy of the lease is preserved among the other documents (Doc. 2) it is clear that it must have been among the houses which occupied the site of the palace. We may thus explain the existence of an annual charge of 10 scudi on the palace in favour of the fathers of SS. Apostoli, which was compounded for by Cardinal Ludovisi by the gift of three shares in the loan known as the 'Monte del Sussidio biennale' (Moroni, *Dizionario*, xl. 149). A copy of the release given by them to the Cardinal, dated October, 10, 1622 (Doc. 16), and the original brief confirming this release dated April 24, 1623 (Doc. 21), are preserved in the volume already referred to.

He cannot, however, have remained in possession of the palace for more than a few years. For, at some date before February 26, 1628, Pierfrancesco Colonna had exercised the right of repurchase, and had let the palace with the garden, stables, coach-houses, fountains, and appurtenances to Cardinal Gabriel Tresci, Archbishop of Malaga: and on that date the latter made over his rights in virtue of the lease to the Abate Francesco Peretti, the last descendant of Sixtus V. in the male line,[1] to whom, on the same day, Pierfrancesco granted a lease during his lifetime and for two months after his death. In 1637, however, Pompeo Colonna, Prince of Gallicano, the son and heir of Pierfrancesco, in pursuance of an agreement between the Abate and Don Nicolò Ludovisi, Prince of Piombino and Venosa, made on January 24, cancelled the lease to the former and substituted the latter as tenant, on the same terms as those on which it had been granted to the former by Pierfrancesco and by Pompeo himself: it was to hold good for the whole life of the tenant and for two months after his death. Pompeo further promised to give the new tenant the preference over any other purchaser in case of the sale of the palace, and to charge him the same price as that for which his brother, Cardinal Ludovico Ludovisi, who had died in 1632, had sold it back to Pompeo's father Pierfrancesco, and to indemnify him for all his expenditure past and future on improvements. (Doc. 24 *a*, minute of the lease.)

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[1] Ciaconius (iv. 436) calls Tresci Tressius or Trejo Paniaquà. Francesco Peretti became Cardinal in December, 1641, and died in 1655 (*ib.* 610).

Don Nicolò apparently paid the Abate a good price for what remained of his lease: we find an undertaking by his legal representative, Ruggero Bracciolini, dated February 11, 1637, to execute the deed of sale of the palace, the terms of which had been already agreed upon, as soon as Don Nicolò demanded it, and a copy of the deed of surrender of the palace (undated) for a consideration of 15,000 scudi, including the allowance for the improvements made by the Abate for his whole lifetime and two months after his death, by which deed the mother of Nicolò, Lavinia Albergati Ludovisi, Duchess of Fiano, was given possession of the palace (Doc. 24 *b*, *c*). There is also a letter of Bracciolini written in May (?) enclosing a minute of the deed of sale (the sale having occurred 'some months before'), and stating that he awaited the order to have it drawn out in due form (Doc. 24 *d*).

We have already seen that Peretti, who became a Cardinal in 1641, died in 1655: and, at the beginning of 1661 Pompeo Colonna made a will by which he left the use of the palace for life to Cardinal Flavio Chigi (*Papers*, viii. 63).

One or two other points may be noticed, as to which it has been possible to obtain additional information. Thus, a few objects from the collection of antiquities formed by Queen Christina of Sweden, and bought by Don Livio Odescalchi in 1691 (*Papers*, viii. 69), found their way into Townley's hands and are now in the British Museum.[1]

It is also worth mentioning that the collection of drawings was given to Crozat; 'il faut ajouter les desseins de Dom Livio Odescalchi, qui furent donnés à M. Crozat, lorsque S.A.R. Monseigneur le Duc d'Orleans, Regent, acheta les Tableaux de ce prince' (*Description des Desseins du Cabinet de feu M. Crozat*, p. x).

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[1] Two Egyptian altars, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Antiquities*, iii. 2494, 2495; *Museum Odescalchum*, ii. (ed. 1), Pls. 98, 90, 85, 97: 89, 91, 100, 83; ii. (ed. 2), Pls. 42, 43, 47, 50: 44, 53, 48, 51: there was a third altar representing Winter, the present locality of which I do not know, represented in *op. cit.* ii. (ed. 1), Pls. 76, 84, 86, 89 (or 99); ii. (ed. 2), Pls. 46, 52, 49, 44 (or 45); and a green basalt bath and a dark granite basin (*ib.* Nos. 2542, 2543) bought by Townley in 1776.

Finally, I must correct an error into which I had fallen in regard to the identification of the former residence of the Odescalchi family (*Papers,*

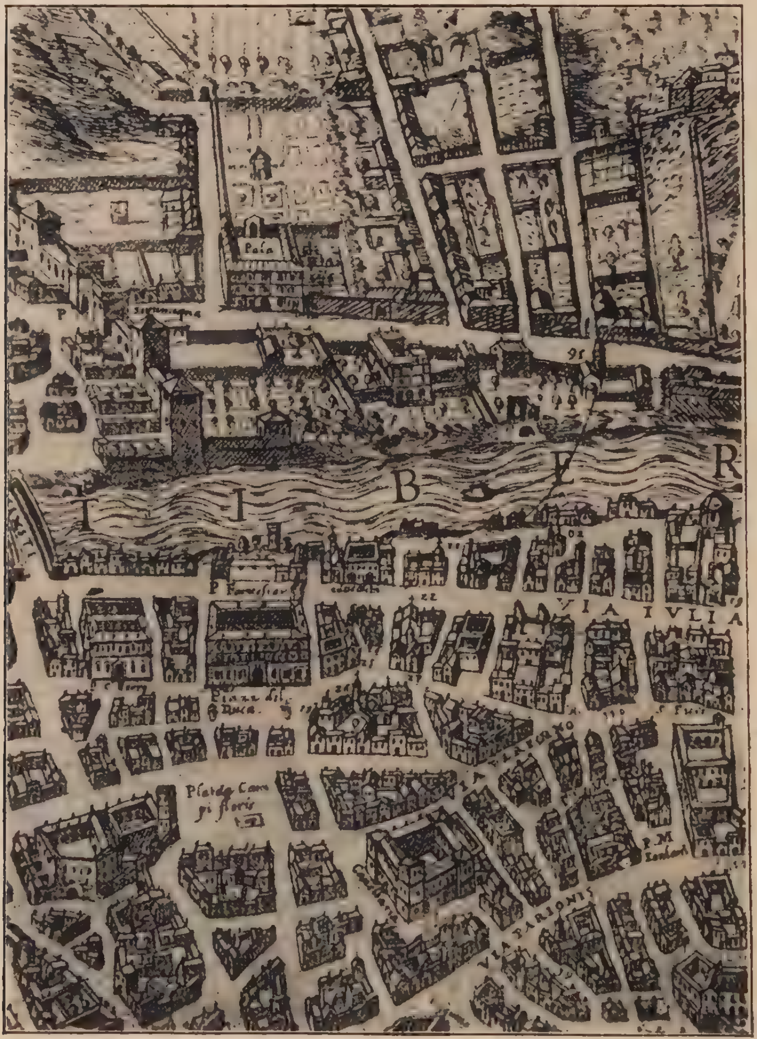

FIG. 1.—PART OF DU PÉRAC'S VIEW OF ROME (1577).

viii. 84). Their palace was on the site of the present Palazzo Falconieri, at the south-east end of Via Giulia, and is clearly shown in the bird's-eye view of Du Pérac (1577: see *Papers, cit.* 58), in which it may be seen to the right of the Palazzo Farnese, with its back to the Tiber, and the legend *odescalchi* (Fig. 1). It has two doors and a courtyard: on the left is the little church of S. Maria della Morte, which was built in 1573, on a site purchased from Monsignor Amalio Ceci in the previous year. He also owned the site of the palace, but the date at which the Odescalchi bought it from him is not known.[1]

If Du Pérac's representation is correct, the engraving by Franzini shows only one half of the façade (Fig. 2).

According to Callari (*Palazzi di Roma*, 243) it passed from the Odescalchi to the Mellini, and from them by inheritance to the Falconieri:

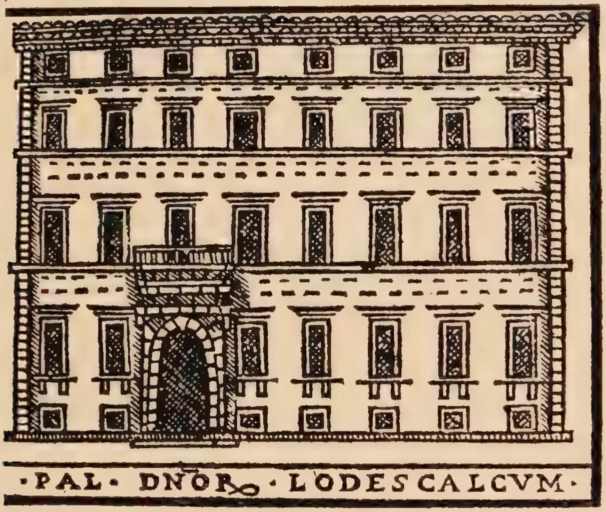

FIG. 2.—ENGRAVING BY FRANZINI.

The former, he says, had it restored by Borromini: but Martinelli (*Roma Ricercata*, 1664, p. 32) attributes the employment of Borromini to the latter, and he is more likely to be right. Matteo Gregorio de Rossi in his plan (1668—I have consulted the edition of 1680) calls it 'Palazzo Falconieri del 1650,' the date, no doubt, of its reconstruction. Cf. Ferrerio and Falda, *Palazzi di Roma*, ii. Pls. 30–33 (the plates are still preserved at the Regia Calcografia, No. 1413). The elevation there given shows that Borromini did not alter the disposition of the windows of the façade, which is identical with that given by Franzini. It would be interesting to know who was the architect of the original building.

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[1] Bevignani in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxxiii. (1910), p. 10.

We may note that the Odescalchi continued to take an interest in the Confraternità della Morte—so much so, that Baldassare subscribed 1100 scudi towards the rebuilding of the church in or about 1732 (*Archivio, cit.* p. 19).

I may also add that Lanciani (*Storia degli Scavi*, i. 213) speaks of a Villa Odescalchi on the Janiculum which, in 1561, lay on one side of the Villa of the Turini da Pescia (now Villa Lante), while the Villa Riario lay on the other; but there is no indication of it in his *Forma Urbis*, and its position and extent seem not to be more accurately known.

In the late seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries they possessed a villa or garden on the Via Flaminia, just outside the Porta del Popolo, on the right. It is mentioned by François Deseine, *Description de Rome* (1690), ii. 8, as being in process of decoration by Don Livio Odescalchi: the edition of 1713 (*Rome Moderne*, i. 8) adds that there was 'a small enchanted palace' on the top of the hill, and a fine garden on the lower level, where the new Academy of the Arcadia held its meetings. Over the gateway, which is attributed to Onorio Longhi (Vasi, *Magnificenze di Roma*, vol. x. p. xvii), was the inscription 'Livio Odescalcho Litterarum bonarumque Artium Patrono munificentissimo Arcades C. V. C. Conditori atque Instauratori suo posuere Anno MDCCXII.' (Cancellieri, *Solenni Possessi*, 305, n. 8). The 'new Academy of the Arcadia' was a schismatic body, which, on January 1st, 1714, took the name of Accademia Quirina. Later on, the name of Don Livio, who had died in 1713, was inscribed *de novo* in the list of members of the old Academy, which attempted to remove the inscription.[1]

The villa was bought by Camillo Borghese when he enlarged the Villa Borghese in 1828 (Canina, *Nuove Fabbriche della Villa Borghese*, 9), and incorporated in it.

[1] G. Biroccini in *Arcadia*, i. (1889), 50. The Academy had met in 1705–7 in the Villa Giustiniani, which lay immediately behind it (Nolli, *Pianta di Roma*, 1748): cf. A. Monaci (to whose kindness I owe these references) in *Giornale Arcadico*, 1914, fasc. 9–11. Cf. also Boni in *Boll. d'Arte*, viii. (1914), 369.

POSTSCRIPT.

Fig. 1 is actually taken from a copy of the 1640 edition in my own collection, but there are no variations of any importance.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. 4.

THE VIA CLAUDIA VALERIA.

BY ROBERT GARDNER.

A.—THE HISTORY OF THE VIA CLAUDIA VALERIA.[1]

THE Via Claudia Valeria was the prolongation of the Via Valeria to its natural termination upon the shores of the Adriatic. During the Republican period the principal lines of communication between Rome and almost every part of Italy were fixed and settled, even if they had not become *viae munitae*; and so it remained for the Emperors to develop this system and bring it to its logical conclusion. The old Via Valeria linked Rome with Alba Fucens, and, by natural extensions, with the country of the Marsi[2] and the Paeligni. The Emperor Claudius went a step further, and, by connecting the Via Valeria at Cerfennia (Collarmele) with the Mare Superum at the Ostia Aterni (Pescara), not only brought the Paeligni and the Marrucini into direct connection with the capital, but opened up a most important route between the Mediterranean and the

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[1] Considerations of space have made it impossible to publish the description of the Via Valeria (from Tibur to Cerfennia) in the present volume; but it will appear in Vol. X. The description of the Roman highway running eastward from Rome to the mouth of the Aternus will thus be completed, the first portion of the road, from Rome to Tibur, having been already dealt with by Dr. Ashby in *P.B.S.R.* iii. 1 *seq.*

The present article was written in the winter of 1913–14. To Dr. Ashby are due my thanks for his kindness in recently looking over the manuscript and in supplying additions and suggestions.

The map (Plate XI.) has been drawn to scale from the sheets of the Italian Staff Map, and with an exception mentioned in the Postcript, every ancient and modern name in the text has been inserted.

[2] Strabo, v. 3. 11: ἄγει ἐπὶ Μαρσοὺς καὶ Κορφίνιον τὴν τῶν Πελίγνων μητρόπολιν.

Adriatic. With the Paeligni [1] and the Marrucini, through whose territory the Via Claudia Valeria passed, the Romans never had any serious trouble. We first hear of relations between Rome and these people in the middle of the fourth century. No serious hostilities are mentioned and Roman armies appear to have been able to march through their territory without opposition. In 304 B.C. Rome granted a treaty to the Marrucini, Marsi, Paeligni and Frentani, all of whom remained generally loyal in after-times. The Via Salaria, which, in its mature form, connected Rome with Ausculum and Castrum Truentinum, a point on the Adriatic coast somewhat to the north of the mouth of the Aternus, was of very early origin. To the late Republican period (117 B.C.) belongs the Via Caecilia,[2] which branched off from the Via Salaria in the valley of the Farfa (at the 36th mile) and, after passing through Amiternum, the chief town of the northern Sabini, reached Hadria and the coast. Interamnia (Teramo), also, was reached by a *deverticulum*, which was certainly prolonged to the sea at Castrum Novum. South of the valley of the Aternus we know of no *via munita* which terminated upon the coast of the Adriatic, until, in 109 A.D., Trajan constructed the famous highway which bears his name (the Via Traiana). But in the Republican period there must have existed a line of communication between Rome and the important centres of Luceria and Sipontum, to the south of M. Garganus, and, indeed, it is clear that the Via Traiana [3] followed a previously existing track between Beneventum and Brundisium. In a famous passage of Livy (ix. 2) we read 'duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque, sed quanto tutior, tanto fere longior, altera per furculas Caudinas brevior.' The road 'per furculas Caudinas brevior' was the later Via Appia from Rome to Beneventum, while the longer route which led 'praeter oram superi maris' must have been itself connected with Rome by a route which later became the Via Valeria—Claudia Valeria.

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[1] Their history is summarised by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 282 (Marrucini), p. 290 (Paeligni) and by Nissen, *Ital. Land.* ii. p. 446 (Paeligni), p. 443 (Marrucini). Cf. also Besnier, *De regione Paelignorum*, Paris (1902), pp. 59–106.

[2] *C.I.L.* vi. 3824. The relations of the Via Salaria and the Via Caecilia are considered more in detail in an article upon the Via Claudia Nova, *Journal of Roman Studies*, vol. iii. pp. 204 *seq.*

[3] Strabo, vi. 3. 7: ἡμιονικὴ διὰ Πευκετίων, οὓς Ποιδίκλους καλοῦσι, καὶ Δαυνίων καὶ Σαυνιτῶν μέχρι Βενεουεντοῦ, ἐφ' ᾗ ὁδῷ 'Εγνατία πόλις, εἶτα Καιλία καὶ Νήτιον καὶ Κανύσιον καὶ 'Ερδωνία. Horace, too, (*Satires*, i. 5), from Herdoniae onwards in all probability, followed this road to Brundisium, although, between Barium and Gnathia, he kept to the coast instead of travelling by the inland road. For the Via Traiana see *C.I.L.* ix. p. 592 *seq.* and T. Ashby and R. Gardner in the *Papers of the British School at Rome*, vol. viii. p. 104 *seq.*

One of the undertakings which Julius Caesar [1] had intended to carry out was the construction of a highroad across the Apennines, connecting the Adriatic Sea with the Tiber. This road, if he had been able to construct it, would have anticipated by almost a century the actual construction of Claudius—the Via Claudia Valeria.

Of the original milestones erected by Claudius one only survives. It was found near Chieti (Teate Marrucinorum) and tells us that in 48–49 A.D. the Emperor Claudius built the Via Claudia Valeria from Cerfennia to the Ostia Aterni and constructed the bridges.[2] The inscription [3] (*C.I.L.* ix. 5973) reads as follows :—

TI · CLAVDIVS
CAISAR
AVG · GER · PONT · MAX
TRIB · POT · VIII · IMP · XVI
COS · IIII · P · P · CENSOR (48–49 A.D.)
ℲIAM CLAVDIAM ℲALERiam
A · CERFENNIA · OSTIA · ATErni
MVNIT · IDEMQVE
PONTES · FECIT
XLIII

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[1] Suetonius, *Caesar*, 44 : Iam de ornanda instituendaque urbe item de tuendo ampliandoque imperio, plura ac maiora in dies destinabat . . . . emittere Fucinum lacum, viam munire a mari supero per Apennini dorsum ad Tiberim usque. The identification of this proposed road with the Via Claudia Valeria is not, for obvious reasons, a matter of certainty.

[2] It is curious that no traces of any ancient bridge are to be seen along the course of the Via Claudia Valeria. Possibly it was due to bad workmanship and indeed the known monuments of Claudius outside Rome are not famous for their permanency. The Emissarium of the Fucine Lake was not a success and had to be restored by Trajan and Hadrian. On the other hand the bridges which are mentioned in the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 6005 as constructed by Trajan along the Via Traiana (VIAM ET PONTES a BENEVENTO BRVNDISIVM PECVNIA SVA fecit) are finely preserved specimens of Roman workmanship of the period of Trajan.

[3] The 'Claudian archaisms' are interesting, namely, the spelling of 'CAISAR' and the use of Ⅎ for V. A well known instance of the spelling 'CAISAR' is to be seen above the Porta Maggiore at Rome (*C.I.L.* vi. 1256), a monument which testifies also to the lack of permanence in Claudius' constructions. For this peculiarity see E. Albertini, 'L'inscription de Claude sur la Porte Majeure et deux passages de Frontin,' *Mélanges de l'École Française*, (1906), pp. 305–318.

Other than this, the 43rd milestone, we have knowledge of only two more milestones belonging to the Via Claudia Valeria. In 1898[1] a milestone was discovered near Goriano Sicoli (Statulae) and its inscription was eventually deciphered as follows :—

liberatori orbis roMANI
restitutori libertatis ET REiPVb
conservatori militum ET PROV
incialium d. n. maGNENTIO
inVICto principi viCTORI
AC TRIVNFATORI SENPER
AVGusto . . . . MEIVS · V · C
CONSVLARIS REG · FLAMINIE
et PICENI . . . . CVRAVIT
XC

This milestone was erected by Magnentius (350–353 A.D.), who probably carried out restorations of the Via Claudia Valeria. He restored the Via Claudia Nova[2] also and possibly the Via Valeria.[3] The topographical importance of this milestone is very considerable, inasmuch as when its provenance is regarded in relation to the other traces[4] of antiquity which have come to light in the neighbourhood of Goriano Sicoli, there remains but small room to doubt that the station of Statulae is to be placed there.

The second milestone was found near the church of San Clemente a Casauria, just to the south of Torre de' Passeri (*C.I.L.* ix. 5972.). It is just possible to say that this milestone was erected by the Emperor Julian (361–363 A.D.). It bears no number and possesses no importance beyond that arising from its provenance.

Since after the time of Claudius the Via Valeria and the Via Claudia Valeria were administered as a single road,[5] the ancient Itineraries do not draw any distinction between the two. The Via Valeria Roma—Ostia Aterni is regarded by them as one continuous highway. From Cerfennia (Collarmele) onwards, the portion of the whole line which was formed by the Via Claudia Valeria is thus described by the Itineraries (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 204.).

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[1] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, p. 515.

[2] A milestone of Magnentius was discovered on the course of the Via Claudia Nova at Pile near Aquila. *Cf.* Persichetti, *Viaggio archeologico sulla Via Salaria*, 1893, p. 136, and my article on Via Claudia Nova in *J.R.S.* vol. iii. p. 204 *sqq.*

[3] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1890, pp. 160–164. The last of the four milestones of the Via Valeria, the discovery of which is there described, is probably to be referred to a restoration by Magnentius or Julian.

[4] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1878, p. 319 ; 1886, p. 432 ; 1889, p. 344 ; 1904, p. 299.

[5] In the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 5973 (Claudius' 43rd milestone) the mileage was reckoned from Cerfennia, whereas in the time of Magnentius (see milestone quoted above) it was clearly reckoned from Rome.

Itinerarium Antoninianum (p. 308 *seq.*)	*Tabula Peutingerana*	*Ravennas*, iv. 34, 35.
Cerfennia	Cirfenna	Cerfenna
	V.	
	Mons Imeus	Musumeos
XVI.	Statulae	
	VII.	
Corfinio	CORFINIO	Corfinium
XI.	VII.	
Interpromium (Interbromio) vicus, *Anton.* p. 101	Interpromum	Interbromum
XVII.	V.	
Teate Marrucino XXV.	Teano Marrucinoceios	Teano Marucion Ceios
XIIII.	XII.	
Hadriae Aterno vicus	Ostia Eterni	

There is a remarkable[1] divergence between the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 5973 and the *Itinerarium Antoninianum*, in that the former places the termination of the road at Ostia Aterni (Pescara), whereas the latter substitutes for this the town of Hadria (Atri), which lies inland, 25 kilometres to the north-west of the mouth of the Aternus. Furthermore, the distance of xiiii. miles which the Itinerary gives for the stage Teate—Hadria is impossible, because a direct line between those two places is almost 20 Roman miles in length. Every consideration, too, forbids us to think of a road directly joining Teate and Hadria. But another passage from the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* serves to correct this mistake. It describes a road running from Mediolanum (Milan) through Picenum to Campania and reads as follows :—

Castro civitas
Aterno civitas m.p. XXIIII.
Interpromium vicus m.p. XXV.
Sulmone civitas m.p. XXVIIII.

The distance of m.p. xxv. Aterno—Interpromium is clearly borrowed from the Via Claudia Valeria, and, as the Itinerary gives m.p. xvii. as the distance between Interpromium and Teate, it follows that the distance along the Via Claudia Valeria from Aternum (Ostia Aterni) to Teate is m.p. viii.

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[1] The descriptions of the Via Claudia Valeria as given by the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* and the *Tabula Peutingerana* are examined and criticised by E. Albertini, *Mélanges de l'École Française*, 1907, pp. 463–471.

Another passage in the Itinerary gives us the distance from Hadria to Ostia Aterni. It describes the road 'ab urbe per Picenum Anconam et inde Brundisium.' Between Ancona and Brundisium we read

Castro novo
Hadriae m.p. XV.
Ostia Aterni m.p. XVI.

Thus the distance from Teate to Hadria through Ostia Aterni is viii. +xvi., or, xxiv. m.p. As we cannot suppose that there was ever a direct road from Teate to Hadria, we must presume that the author of the *Itinerarium* prolonged the Via Valeria from Teate to Hadria (omitting Ostia Aterni) in order to connect it with the Via Salaria 'Ab urbe—Hadriam.' Thus the Via Salaria and the Via Valeria are represented in the Itinerary as forming, so to speak, a circular route from Rome back to Rome through Hadria.

The distance of xiiii. m.p. which the Itinerary assigns to the stage Teate—Hadria must be changed to xxiv. m.p. and that of xii. m.p. given by the *Tabula Peutingerana* as the distance from 'Teano Marrucinoceios' (Teate) to Ostia Aterni reduced to viii. m.p. (in reality it is about ix. m.p.). We can now reconstruct the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* as follows:—

Cerfennia
Corfinio m.p. XVI.
Interpromium m.p. XI.
Teate Marrucino m.p. XVII.
[Ostia Aterni m.p. VIII.]

The total distance from Cerfennia to Ostia Aterni along the Via Claudia Valeria is thus lii. m.p. As the estimated distance along the probable course is liv. m.p., the Itinerary is approximately accurate in its total.

On the *Tabula Peutingerana* it is easy to recognise the names of the stations, although they are generally corruptly spelt. Its principal importance for us lies in the fact that it records two intermediate stations between Cerfennia and Corfinium, of which no mention is made in the Antonine Itinerary. They are Mons Imeus and Statulae. Further, we read m.p. vii. from Statulae to Corfinium, m.p. vii. from Corfinium to 'Interpromum,' m.p. v. from 'Interpromum' to 'Teanomarrucinoceios,'[1] m.p. xii. from 'Teanomarrucinoceios' to 'Ostia Eterni.' The lacuna between Mons Imeus and Statulae can be easily filled up. The Antonine Itinerary gives m.p. xvi. as the total distance between Cerfennia and Corfinium, and, as the *Tabula Peutingerana* gives m.p. v. from 'Cirfenna' to Mons Imeus and m.p. vii. from Statulae to Corfinium, it follows that the distance from Mons Imeus to Statulae must be m.p. iv. (xvi. — (vii. + v.)), which corresponds with reality. The total distance of m.p. xli. thus given by the *Tabula* from Cerfennia onwards must be rejected as quite inaccurate.[2]

In accordance with scale measurements along the probable course of the Via Claudia Valeria from Cerfennia to Ostia Aterni the distances between the different stations are as follows :—

Ancient Station.	*Modern Site.*	*Estimated distance.*	*Mommsen.* (*C.I.L.* ix. p. 588.)
Cerfennia	Collarmele		
Mons Imeus	Forca Caruso	m.p. IV.	m.p. V.
Statulae	Goriano Sicoli	m.p. IV.	[m.p. IV.]
Corfinium	S. Pelino	m.p. VII.	m.p. VII.
Interpromium	S. Clemente a Casauria	m.p. XII.	m.p. XI.
Teate	Chieti	m.p. XVI.	m.p. XVII.[3]
Ostia Aterni	Pescara	m.p. IX.	[m.p. X.]

The total distance, therefore, from Cerfennia to Ostia Aterni is m.p. lii., which Mommsen's[3] total exceeds by two miles. The exact site of

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[1] See the inscription PAGI CEIANI mentioned in the Postscript, p. 105.

[2] The *Tabula Peutingerana* is full of these *loci desperati*. Cf. Fernique (*de regione Marsorum*, p. 36) who says that the *Tabula Peutingerana* must be used with care and that readers must not hesitate to correct its figures, whenever they differ from those of modern topographers.

[3] It is owing to an inadvertence on Mommsen's part that in *C.I.L.* ix. p. 204 he quotes the distance (from the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 5973 discovered near Teate) between Cerfennia and Ostia Aterni as m.p. xliii. The same mistake is repeated in *C.I.L.* ix. p. 348. He says that the distance between Collarmele and Pescara corresponds with the m.p. xlv (?) which are stated by *C.I.L.* ix. 5973 to separate Cerfennia from Ostia Aterni. The milestone in question simply stood at the 43rd mile of the Via Claudia Valeria. As it is difficult to say whether the stone was discovered in its original position, it is deprived of much topographical importance. But according to the estimated distance Teate would stand at the 43rd milestone.

Interpromium is in dispute, but this uncertainty does not affect the length of the road.

A further point is raised by the mileage (xc.) indicated on the stone of Magnentius discovered at Statulae (Goriano Sicoli). It shews that in the fourth century the mileage of the Via Claudia Valeria was reckoned from Rome, not from Cerfennia, the original *caput* of the road. Indeed the Via Valeria and the Via Claudia Valeria[1] were, for all practical purposes, merged in one continuous road long before that time.

Furthermore, with the statement that Statulae was 90 miles from Rome it is impossible to reconcile the lines of Ovid, *Tristia*, iv. 10. 3:

Sulmo mihi patria est gelidis uberrimus undis
Milia qui novies distat ab urbe decem.

To reach Sulmo (the modern Sulmona) from Rome travellers would have to cover at least 104 miles, since the distance from Statulae (at the 90th mile) to Corfinium was 7 miles and the distance thence to Sulmo another 7.[2] Although we must remember that at the time of Ovid the Via Claudia Valeria from Cerfennia onwards was not constructed, the old Via Valeria went as far as Corfinium, while a *deverticulum*, which probably left the main road near Cerfennia, went to Marsi Marruvium on the east shore of the Fucine Lake. In a sense the Via Claudia Valeria from Cerfennia to Corfinium was not a construction *de novo*, but rather a restoration or improvement of the older Via Valeria and must have followed the same course over Mons Imeus (the modern pass known as Forca Caruso), which, indeed, must have been crossed by a natural track from time immemorial. If Ovid went from Rome to Marruvium and crossed the difficult mountain barrier thence to Sulmo, it is just possible that he covered only 90 miles; or, if he approached Marruvium along the southern shore of the Fucine Lake instead of along the northern, it is more easily conceivable that the distance was 90 miles. But as it seems probable that he would reckon along the more convenient way by Cerfennia—Statulae—Corfinium, we must suppose that he was consulting the interests of metre rather than those of strict truth. Some astounding errors of distances[1] are on record made by Roman travellers, by prose writers no less than by poets.

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[1] From various inscriptions mentioning *curatores* of these roads it appears that even at the beginning of the second century A.D. the Via Tiburtina, the Via Valeria and the Via Claudia Valeria, were administered as one road and occasionally by one and the same curator.

[2] Caesar, *B.C.* i. 18: oppidum (Sulmonensium) a Corfinio vii. milium intervallo abest. The *Tabula Peutingerana* (ab Appia ad Valeriam) reads Sulmone—VII.—CORFINIO.

B.—THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE VIA CLAUDIA VALERIA.

(1) *From Cerfennia* (*Collarmele*) *to Corfinium* (*S. Pelino*).

The modern highroad from Avezzano to Sulmona, after passing along the northern edge of the vast alluvial plain, once watered by the Fucine Lake, now divided up into countless squares of green and brown by artificial roads and dykes, begins to rise up into a chain of mountains which guards the approach to the plain from the north-east. It soon reaches the dilapidated town of Collarmele, which lies at the top of a valley; beyond, to the north and east, there is a large extent of plateau, terminating, however, in an abrupt slope which culminates in the lofty ridge of Monte Sirente. On the site of Collarmele there once stood the Marsian town of Cerfennia,[2] the name of which is preserved in that of the church of S. Felicitas in Cerfenna (Pl. XII, 1), according to a Bull[3] of Pope Paschal II. defining the boundaries of the *dioecesis Marsicana*. It is suggested by Mommsen that Cerfennia is identical with *Σερεννία* (Diodorus Siculus, xx. 90) and Cesenna (Livy, ix. 44), which the Romans are said to have captured from the Samnites in 305 B.C., at the time when they became masters of the Volscian cities of Sora and Arpinum. That the territory of the Volsci once extended to the Fucine Lake (Livy, iv. 57, 7) gives some support to this hypothesis.

Holste[4] states that in his time remains of walls and of an aqueduct were to be seen in the vicinity of Collarmele, but, at present, visible traces of antiquity are practically non-existent, though excavations have been carried out with good results.[1] In the area between the modern town and the Madonna delle Grazie, half a kilometre away to the north, known as Campo Ciarfegna, the remains of a concrete core of a square tomb, two columbaria and several inhumation tombs, lined with tiles, have been noted. These tombs yielded numerous funeral objects in terracotta, glass, bronze and iron. Cerfennia, then, whose name is clearly preserved in Campo Ciarfegna, must have been situated approximately upon the site of Collarmele. It is to be regretted that this old Italic town has left so little of interest in its remains both above and below ground.

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[1] L. W. Hunter, 'Cicero's Journey to his Province in 51 B.C.' *J.R.S.* vol. iii. pt. 1. p. 73–97. The errors, however, there cited are those of time rather than distance.

The exactitude of the distance given in Horace's well known line (*Sat.* i. 5) 'quattuor hinc rapimur viginti et milia raedis' is much disputed. (cp. Papers, viii. 110).

[2] All our knowledge of Cerfennia is summarised by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 348, Hülsen, Pauly-Wissowa, *R.E.* iii. 1980 and Nissen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 456. Unfortunately there are no inscriptions extant which bear upon its topography.

[3] Ughelli, *Ital. Sacr.* ed. 2. vol. i. p. 893.

[4] Holste, *Ad Cluv.* p. 153, says that the remains were in his time very conspicuous (clarissima). The aqueduct was subterranean.

We may regard as the course of the Via Claudia Valeria[2] the path which cuts the highroad just by the Madonna delle Grazie, and, after a break, is continued in that running parallel with and just below the modern road. The two run generally parallel for two kilometres in a well marked depression, until they meet before crossing the Piano S. Nicola (1067 metres). The old track goes straight across, but the modern road makes a considerable détour to the north. Just beyond the Casa Mascioli (Pl. XII, 2) the road absorbs the track and continues alone through the gorge below Monte Ventrino until the Forca Caruso is reached (1120 metres). This track, which, all the way from Collarmele, winds in and out among the spurs of the slopes descending from the higher ground north and south, while the highroad keeps at a higher level along the hillside to the north, cannot be other than the Via Claudia Valeria. Nowhere[3] is there any trace of ancient pavement to be seen, but rough mediaeval cobblestones are frequently visible, while the width of the track, some 6 metres on an average, is consonant with the supposition that it follows the course of an ancient road.

At the Casa Cantoniera the summit[4] is reached. Here we must place the station of Mons Imeus,[1] where we part company with the land of the Marsi and enter that of the Paeligni. In the heart of the hills, some six kilometres E.-S.-E. of the Forca Caruso, lies the village of Cocullo, on the lower slopes of Monte Luparo, at the head of a valley which runs directly south to Anversa. It has been suggested, from the similarity of names, that Cocullo is the modern representative of the ancient *Κούκουλον* which Strabo[2] says was near the Via Valeria. It is possible, indeed, that *Κούκουλον* is a corruption of the word Aequiculi, for from the evidence of inscriptions we know of a municipium Aequiculorum[3] (Nesce nel Cicolano) which was organised as such before the time of Strabo. According to Strabo, the town is clearly in the neighbourhood of Carsioli and Alba Fucens and so,

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[1] *Notizie degli Scavi*, 1903, p. 347, describes excavations near the Madonna delle Grazie.

[2] Nibby, *Analisi*, iii. 644, says that the course of the Via Valeria is clearly indicated beyond the Fucine Lake by the site of Cerfennia at Collarmele and, especially beyond Cerfennia by the imposing pass known as the Forca Caruso, whence the road descends to the valley of the Aterno.

[3] Abbate (*Guida degli Abruzzi*, p. 139) mentions cuttings on the ascent to Forca Caruso. I did not observe any cutting which could be described as ancient, but probably a closer and longer examination would reveal more definite traces.

[4] It has been supposed by topographers that an arch was erected at the summit of the pass in honour of the Empress Livia (*C.I.L.* ix. 3304, *Liviae Drusi f. Augustae Matri Ti. Caesaris et Drusi Germanici Superaequani public(e)*, on the authority of a letter of Phoebonius, the author of the *Historia Marsorum*, to Holste. Phoebonius says clearly

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enough that the site of an ancient building could be distinguished there and that the arch of Augusta was placed there, because the place was called 'all' Arco,' and the land so registered in the surveys. But it seems equally clear that the inscription was found near Castelvecchio Subequo (' vicino a Castelvecchio di Subreco nel piano è una tesa di muraglia lunga con ruine assai d'edifizii . . . . questo luogo gli abitanti lo chiamono Macrano . . . . nelle ruine si è trovata l' inscrittione del Publico Superequo.'). It would seem that the two localities are not identical from the beginning of the description of the arch 'mi porta questa occasione la chiarezza di un' altra curiosità,' but in his *Historia Marsorum* (p. 277) he further describes the arch of Augusta as mentioned in the life of S. Rufinus (in the letter it is S. Caesidius his son) as being at the 75th mile from Rome, and connects with it the inscription, which he copied in the house of the Macrini family at Castelvecchio, where it supported a marble female head. He also notes that the Piano di S. Nicola took its name from a well built church and a ruined monastery of the Celestines. Frothingham (*A.J.A.* xix. (1915), p. 157) describes the arch as marking the boundary between the Paeligni and the Marsi, and as the only territorial arch in Italy, except just outside Rome on the Via Flaminia, though there are, he says, many in the provinces. Frothingham makes it a *brick* arch, on what authority I do not know. His reference to the 'monograph' by De Nino, *R. Ac. Lincei*, Sept. 1897, is taken at secondhand from Abbate and refers to *Not. Scavi*, 1897, p. 427. (T.A.)

[1] The distance from Collarmele is approximately 4 Roman miles, which is one mile less than that recorded by the *Tabula Peutingerana.* The Geographer of Ravenna gives the corrupt form Musumeos. Phoebonius, *Historia Marsorum*, p. 269, mentions both Cerfennia and Mons Imeus as being stations on the Via Claudia Valeria, although he calls it simply the Via Valeria. 'Mons Iseus' and 'Monte Ineo' he gives as other forms of Mons Imeus.

[2] Strabo, v. 238 : *εἰσὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῇ (τῇ Οὐαλερίᾳ) Λατῖναι πόλεις Οὐαρία τε καὶ Καρσέολοι καὶ Ἄλβα, πλήσιον δὲ καὶ πόλις Κούκουλον.*

Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 318, note 2, says that on the authority of Holste (*adnot. ad Cluver.* p. 155) the Cuculum mentioned by Strabo is generally placed at Cocullo between Pescina and Sulmona, but that at no time have any remains of the Roman period been found there. Moreover, that since Strabo was enumerating in this passage Latin towns, Cuculum must not be looked for outside the boundaries of Latium in his time. Mommsen's statement that no remains of the Roman period have been found on the site of Cocullo, was, of course, made previous to the discovery of miscellaneous remains at Il Casale di Cocullo (see below).

[3] Mommsen, *loc. cit.*

for this reason alone, the hypothesis that Κούκουλον is to be sought at Cocullo must be rejected, and it is much more probable that we must regard Κούκουλον[1] as a town belonging to the Aequiculi, who dwelt in the mountainous regions between the Tiber and the Fucine Lake, north of the line taken by the Via Valeria. Traces of a rock cut road have been found in the mountains north east of Cocullo (probably a *deverticulum*, which afterwards ran north towards Prezza, to join the Via Valeria), while the discovery[2] of a number of miscellaneous fragments testifies to the occupation in the Roman period of the site of Il Casale di Cocullo, two kilometres to the south of Cocullo.

The old track and the new road part company immediately after the Forca Caruso is reached. The former can be seen descending sheer down the precipitous slope; the latter skirts along the base of Monte Ventrino only to turn back upon its course, and, after detaching to the left a road which leads to Castel di Jeri and Castelvecchio Subequo, meets the path just above the locality known as La Forchetta (Pl. XII, 3). A magnificent view is obtained on the descent. Far away beyond the tree-clad slopes of the Monte della Selva, Goriano Sicoli nestles in its valley; behind rises a rocky ridge which separates it from the plain of Corfinium and behind that snowcapped Morrone rises far into the sky. To the north a long valley leads up at the foot of Monte Urano to Castelvecchio Subequo. Through La Forchetta the old track again descends straight and unswerving, but the highroad twists to the left in accommodating itself to the steep slope. On passing[3] from La Forchetta the two again unite and, changing direction, advance east to Goriano Sicoli, but now the path runs to the north of the road, not to the south (Pl. XII, 4). As the town is approached the descent is more gradual, but the track is clearly discernible the whole way and crosses the modern road once more at the bottom. In the common below the town it is lost. The steepness of the descent may be appreciated from the fact that the old road in a course of 5 kilometres from the Forca Caruso drops over 500 metres, a gradient of 1 in 10.

The district of La Statura, in the commune of Goriano Sicoli, is clearly the survivor of Statulae, the station recorded by the *Tabula Peutingerana* between Mons Imeus and Corfinium. Not only at La Statura, but at other points in this locality, have successful excavations taken place. In 1878[1] remains of walls, bronze coins and numerous fragments of pottery were unearthed at La Statura; an inhumation tomb was opened eight years later.[2] In 1889 a number of pozzi,[3] full of débris belonging to the Roman period and the remains of an aqueduct were discovered upon the same site, while, quite near the entrance to Goriano Sicoli, tile-covered tombs have been found. Excavations in 1898 in the contrada S. Donato,[4] through which the track passes, brought to light the milestone of Magnentius to which reference has already been made, (page 78), while in the neighbouring contrada Mozzone[5] fifteen inhumation tombs and various specimens of iron and terra-cotta funeral objects came to light.

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[1] Nissen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 462; Hülsen, *P.W. R.E.* i. 598 (Aequiculi).

[2] *Not. Scavi.* 1899, p. 239, 240.

[3] *Not. Scav.* 1889, p. 344. Between La Forchetta and Goriano Sicoli, where the old track passes along the lower slopes of the Colle S. Donato traces of a rock cutting and wheel marks are mentioned as existing.

It is thus possible to fix not only the sites of Mons Imeus and Statulae, but also the exact course of the ancient road which joined them. A much more difficult problem is to determine the course of the Via Claudia Valeria between Statulae and Corfinium, the next station. According to the *Tabula Peutingerana*, which alone mentions the station of Statulae, the distance between the two is m.p. vii.; the *Itinerarium Antoninianum* places m.p. xvi. between Cerfennia and Corfinium, and, if we assume the distance between Cerfennia and Statulae to be m.p. ix. (v. + iv.), that between Statulae and Corfinium is m.p. vii. also.

It would appear, at first sight, that the old road might follow approximately the course of the modern road across the ridge towards Raiano and the site of Corfinium, but not only is the length of such a course rather less than m.p. v., but there are, moreover, no traces whatever of an older road either on the ascent to the summit level (860 metres) below the southern extremity of Monte Urano or on the tortuous descent to Raiano. And, seeing that the old road can be traced so easily from Cerfennia to Statulae alongside the modern road, it is curious that all signs of it should have disappeared across the ridge from Statulae to Corfinium. Mediaeval[6] ruins are visible on the Punta di Castello, half way down the descent to Raiano, but there are no signs of anything belonging to the Roman period. It is quite impossible to suppose that the Via Claudia Valeria ever took the same course as the other modern road from Goriano Sicoli to Raiano, which passes round three sides of Monte Urano

[1] *Not. Scav.* 1878, p. 319.
[2] *Not. Scav.* 1886, p. 432.
[3] *Not. Scav.* 1890, p. 344.
[4] *Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 515.
[5] *Not. Scav.* 1904, p. 299.
[6] *Not. Scav.* 1878, p. 320.

through Castel di Jeri and Castelvecchio Subequo,[1] because such a détour is quite unnatural and would involve an additional ten miles of travelling.

On the other hand it may be suggested that the Via Claudia Valeria followed a course now represented by the path which strikes up the valley running to the south-east of Goriano Sicoli and, passing between La Difesa and Il Morrone, descends down Il Colle towards Raiano. This country is difficult, but the estimated length of such a course is approximately m.p. vii. Wherever this ridge is crossed, there are difficulties to be encountered, but the course seems reasonable. Perhaps we may take it to the south of Il Morrone through La Forchetta, a name which was previously observed on the course of the road between the Forca Caruso and Goriano Sicoli. I was unable to follow either of these tracks across the ridge, but it seems by no means impossible that one of them may represent the course of the road, especially as the estimated distance agrees to all intents and purposes with that given by the *Tabula Peutingerana*. The problem, however, requires accurate local investigation. The village of Prezza, lying E.-S.-E. of La Forchetta, is to be identified with the ancient Lavernae,[2] a place of some importance.

Whether the road passed through Raiano is a question which cannot be precisely determined. The site, as excavations shew, was inhabited[3] in the Roman period and was probably a suburb of Corfinium. In any case the road passed just to the north of the modern village and, as the tomb cores along the modern road west of S. Pelino shew, the ancient and modern roads coincide not far from the site of Corfinium. The village of Vittorito,[1] lying across the Aterno from Raiano on the north-east slopes of the hill Costa S. Venanzio, is certainly upon an ancient site.

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[1] Castelvecchio Subequo is on the site of Superaequum, one of the towns of the Paeligni, cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 311. Important excavations were carried out there in 1898, which throw light upon the site of the old town and its necropolis, which was probably in the locality called Macrano, S. of the modern village (see p. 84, note 4). *Not. Scav.* 1898, pp. 71–77. For further discoveries in the district see also *Not. Scav.* 1892, p. 170 (traces of an ancient road leading from Superaequum towards the valley of the Aternus, through which it may have gone on towards Aveia, cf. *J.R.S.* iii. 232.)

[2] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 296. Lavernae is mentioned in Plutarch, *Sulla*, 6, who speaks of a great earthquake which took place there during the Social War. It possessed a temple of the Bona Dea and also a theatre. *Not. Scav.* 1897, p. 203. Monte S. Cosimo (E. of Prezza) shews traces of occupation in primitive times, while a few insignificant remains of the Roman period have come to light to the south of the hill. Cf. also *Not. Scav.* 1878, p. 299; 1887, p. 296; 1888, p. 293; 1889, p. 253; 1890, p. 129; 1894, p. 290 (Roman and prehistoric tombs); 1899, p. 239.

[3] *Not. Scav.* 1878, 319; 1880, 252; 1882, 118; 1891, 295; 1884, 109; 188, 293; 1890, 193; 1894, 195—256; 1898, 77; 1900, 242.

Traces of an ancient road (*Not. Scav.* 1880, 253) have been found north of Raiano in the defile along which the Aterno passes into the plain. It was probably a *deverticulum* connecting Superaequum (Castelvecchio Subequo) with Corfinium. To the S.W. of Raiano polygonal walls and inhumation tombs have been discovered on the hills known as Varanije and Raiano Vecchio.

The ancient Corfinium, capital of the Paeligni, was situated on a level plateau (363 metres), which slopes precipitously on the N.E. and N.W. sides to the valleys of the Sagittario and the Aterno respectively. The position is strong. These streams unite two kilometres north of the site. To the south the plateau stretches unbroken as far as the town of Pratola Paeligna, where it is intersected by a deep valley running across from the mountains below Prezza. It is covered by an uninterrupted series of vineyards and olive groves. The aspect of the whole plain from the summit level of the modern road (860 metres) between Goriano Sicoli and Raiano is magnificent. Mountains enclose it on every side. From the north-east the Aterno rushes down from its prison in the gorge between Monte Urano and the Costa S. Venanzio and emerges into the plain above Raiano at the base of the escarpment. It sweeps along past Vittorito and, after receiving the waters of the Sagittario, traverses a wide plain until it meets the barrier of hills to the north of Popoli and disappears into the defile known as the Gola di Popoli. From Raiano the Regio Tratturo, a broad green sheep track, passes over the brown earth of the vineyards, leaving Pratola Peligna to the north, and finally disappears from view behind Monte Cosimo. Sulmona, too, lies hidden behind this hill. The modern road is seen passing from Raiano by the church of S. Pelino to Pentima. The bare limestone crags of the Morrone with the village of Roccacasale at their base block the view to the east, and, as the eye travels round the village of Pacentro is descried far away at the base of the snow-capped Maiella.

Extensive remains of the ancient Corfinium have been found at and near Pentima.[2] This modern village does not represent the ancient site, which must have been far larger and was very strongly protected by the escarpments on the northern side. The imposing church of S. Pelino, (Fig. 1) which is seen on the right of the highroad some little distance from Pentima, is the cathedral of Valva, the immediate successor to Corfinium. It dates from the fifth century. Numerous inscriptions are incorporated in its fabric. The concrete cores of several tombs flank the highroad as far as S. Pelino. The first five are on the right hand side; the other two, in close juxtaposition, stand on the left of the road before S. Pelino is reached and precisely opposite to the path which leads across the vineyards from Pentima. Three of them, those nearest S. Pelino, would be originally 7 to 9 metres high, while the two that stand together are so imposing that Nissen,[1] who must have seen them only from a distance, erroneously regarded them as an aqueduct (Fig. 2). All were rectangular [2] in shape, but have been totally denuded of their facing by the vandalism of the Middle Ages.

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[1] *Not. Scav.* 1883, 176; 1892, 123; 1894, 317; 1899, 299; 1902, 124; 1904, 18; Tombs of the Republican period have been discovered there. There are also traces of polygonal walls on the hillside above the modern village.

[2] Chaupy, *Maison d'Horace*, vol. iii. p. 237, observes 'Le lieu précis où elle fut située, s'annonce par un grand morceau de la voie Valérienne, qui y conserve un grand nombre de ses anciens tombeaux. . . . La barbarie qui emploia à la fabrique de l'église de S. Pelino, toutes les pierres de l'ancien Corfinium qu'elle trouva, en a conservé par ce moyen quelques inscriptions.' The pavement mentioned is no longer visible.

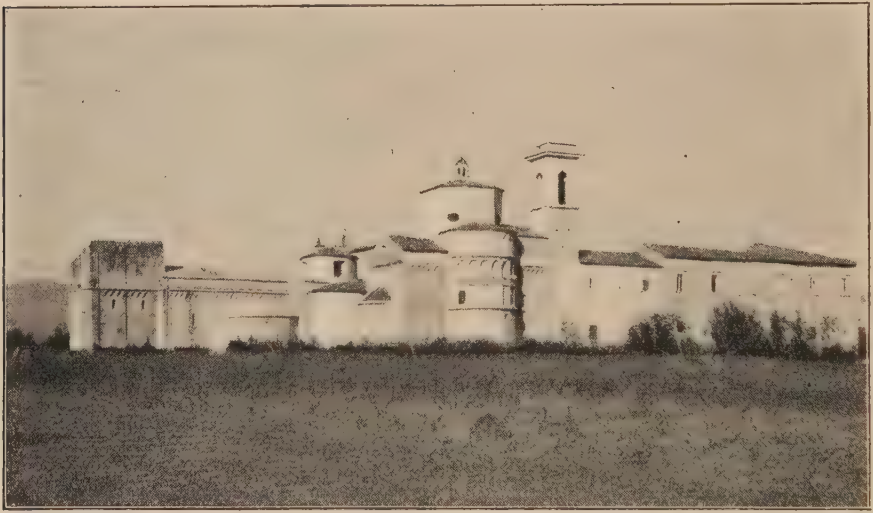

FIG. 1.—CHURCH OF S. PELINO.

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[1] Nissen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 448.

[2] As one comes from Raiano the first core met with is merely a shapeless lump of concrete. 20 metres further on is a second tomb measuring 3 × 4 metres at the base. The third, 50 metres nearer S. Pelino, measured 5 × 4 metres and would have been about 7 metres high. 50 metres further on is a smaller core, measuring 2 × 1·5 metres at the

At the point where the tombs end the Via Claudia Valeria entered Corfinium. There are no remains to be found in the vineyards (Pl. XIII, 1),[1] but since 1877 excavations [2] have been going on at Pentima with profitable results. No systematic attempt, however, has been made to disinter the site. The necropolis of Corfinium, containing tombs dating from the Republican period down to the end of Classical times, has been discovered and excavated. The remains of numerous private houses and two aqueducts have come to light.

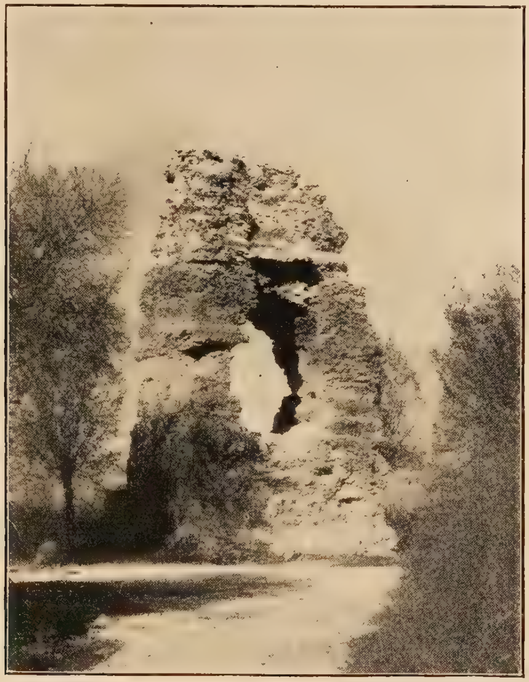

FIG. 2.—CORE OF TOMB, CORFINIUM.

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base, while after another 75 metres is seen another imposing ruin some 9 metres high. Of the remaining two, on the other side of the road, the larger measured 5 × 6 × 10 metres, the smaller being 4·5 × 3·5 × 7 metres.

[1] Lear, *Illust. Excursions in Italy*, 1846, p. 32. 'Of that great city (Corfinium) how little remains: foundations of solid brickwork; walls of *opus reticulatum* peeping above the soil: some traces of aqueducts; and two or three high masses of ruin supposed to be a temple.' Perhaps the earthquakes in the last century may have completed the work of desolation; since Alberti in 1596 writes 'si veggono molte rovine di grand' edifici.' Plate II. (Lear) gives a view of S. Pelino and the tombs round it.

[2] *Not. Scav*, since 1877 *passim* under 'Pentima.'

Mommsen (*C.I.L.* ix. pp. 296, 297 and *Eph. Epigr.* vol. viii. p. 36) and Hülsen (Pauly-Wissowa. iv. 1226) summarize our knowledge of Corfinium.[1] That, as Italia, it was chosen as the capital of the allies in the Social War adds interest to its history. Its geographical position made it an important road centre. It stood at the junction where the stream of commerce between the Fucine Lake and the Adriatic Sea met that which came down from the land of the Vestini and the northern Sabini to Samnium. At the watersmeet of the Aternus and the Tirinus (ad confluentes Aternum et Tirinum), a few miles north of Corfinium the Via Claudia Nova met the Via Claudia Valeria, while at Corfinium itself another highway[2] went south to Sulmo and, after crossing the Piano di Cinquemiglia, reached Aesernia and eventually at Beneventum joined the Via Appia and the Via Traiana, the great highways of Southern Italy.

(2) *From Corfinium* (*S. Pelino*) *to Ostia Aterni* (*Pescara*).

On leaving Pentima the modern road zigzags to the left in negotiating the steep descent to the valley of the Sagittario, but there is a track which leads straight down to the lower ground. This may well represent the course of the Via Valeria, although it presents no traces of antiquity. The next indication of its course is the concrete core of a small tomb, measuring 3 by 4 metres at the base, which is seen just to the left of the modern road, a kilometre before Popoli is reached, as it begins to descend through the Piano di Popoli. Assuming that this tomb stood near the Via Claudia Valeria, we must acknowledge that the road crossed the Sagittario before its confluence with the Aternus and continued approximately along the line of the modern road to Popoli.

According to our literary tradition the Aternus was crossed at a point three miles from Corfinium by a bridge, which receives special mention in the account of the operations following upon Caesar's advance from North Italy in 49 B.C. Domitius Ahenobarbus was in command at Corfinium, and, on hearing that Caesar had captured Ausculum in Picenum, attempted to block his advance southward by destroying this bridge. But Caesar[1] found Domitius' men in the act of demolishing the bridge, frustrated their attempt and reduced Corfinium after a short siege. Caesar distinctly says that the bridge was three miles from Corfinium and, in Strabo's[2] time, the bridge clearly existed. It is mentioned also in the *Acta Sanctorum.*[3]

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[1] For Italic inscriptions from Corfinium see Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, vol. i. p. 241 *seq.*

[2] For the Itineraries see Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 201. I went along this road in May 1914. Of the road itself nothing is left, but the remains of the cities in the Samnite country through which it passed were of great interest.

It is impossible to locate this bridge by the final proof of monumental evidence.[4] There are no visible remains of any ancient bridge over the Aternus in the vicinity of Corfinium or Popoli. Thus there is no other alternative than to study the question with the unsatisfactory aid of literary evidence.

If the Pons Aterni were on the Via Claudia Valeria, it must be located at a point on the road three miles from Corfinium in the direction of Popoli and the road must be supposed to cross the river at that point. That is, if we are to regard the position of the tomb core mentioned above as indisputable evidence for the course of the road, the Via Claudia Valeria would cross the Sagittario about a mile N. of Corfinium and cross the Aterno (from right to left bank) somewhere between its confluence with the Sagittario and the modern town of Popoli. Nissen[5] says that three miles from Corfinium in the vicinity of Popoli the Via Valeria in republican times crossed the Aternus and proceeded as far as Interpromium on the left bank. As the Aternus (he continues) could not be forded below Popoli the possession of this bridge was of vital importance for an enemy coming from the north or from the west.

An alternative position for this bridge is on the Aternus three miles S.W. of Corfinium, at the point where the river leaves the ravine between

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[1] Caesar, *B.C.* i. 16: recepto Asculo . . . . Caesar Corfinium contendit; eo cum venisset, cohortes quinque praemissae a Domitio ex oppido pontem fluminis interrumpebant, qui erat ab oppido m.p. circiter iii.

[2] Strabo, v. 4. 2, p. 241: *Ἄτερνος . . . ζεύγματι περατός . . . διέχει δὲ τὸ ζεῦγμα τέσσαρας καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίους ἀπὸ Κορφινίου.*

[3] Acta of SS. Valentinus and Damianus, quoted by Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 286, note 1: Venientes itaque (a Corfinio) inter fluvium Piscariam (Pescara or Aterno) in loco ubi dicitur Pons marmoreus (intellegitur Pons Aterni tertio a Corfinio lapide) invenerunt ibi quendam iuvenem iacentem paralyticum. G. De Petra ('Interpromium e Ceii' in the *Atti dell' Accademia di Napoli*, xxi. (1900–1), p. 170) identifies the Pons Marmoreus with the Pons Regalis close to S. Clemente a Casauria from various passages in the chronicle of Casauria. (See Postscript).

[4] See Postscript, where this statement is qualified.

[5] Nissen, *op. cit.* ii. p. 447. But the Via Valeria, in republican times, did not go beyond Corfinium, although there must have been an unpaved track leading thence down the valley of the Aternus. I do not know what authority he had for saying that the road proceeded from near Popoli to Interpromium on the left bank of the river.

Costa S. Venanzio and Raiano and enters the open plain of Corfinium. But, in this case, the bridge could not possibly be on the Via Claudia Valeria, because this would mean that between Statulae (Goriano Sicoli) and Corfinium the road would within a short distance have crossed the Aternus *twice*, both these points being on the same side of the river. The balance of probability, too, (see page 87 above) forbids us in the present state of our knowledge to ascribe to the road such a course as this supposed position of the bridge would postulate.

A possible solution of the problem is as follows. It, too, involves an enquiry into the route followed by Caesar in 49 B.C. when he marched from Ausculum in Picenum (Ascoli) to Corfinium. From Ausculum he would follow the Via Salaria down to Interocrea (Antrodoco) and thence strike E.-S.-E. to Foruli and Amiternum in the upper valley of the Aternus. The easiest and most direct route thence to Corfinium would be straight down the valley of the Aternus. If he marched on the left or northern bank of the river, it would be necessary for him to cross in order to reach Corfinium. In that case the Pons Aterni, if located at the mouth of the gorge between Costa S. Venanzio and Raiano, would have been the key to Corfinium from the north. On the other hand, if Caesar[1] followed the valley of the Tirinus down to its junction with the Aternus north of Popoli, then the Pons Aterni must be placed somewhere north of the confluence of the Aternus and the Sagittario and south of Popoli.

The site, then, of the Pons Aterni cannot be definitely fixed. I prefer to suppose that it did not lie on the course taken by the Via Claudia Valeria and that it may have crossed the Aternus at the southern end of the defile between Costa S. Venanzio and Raiano. Kiepert[2] does not mark any site for the bridge, and, entirely ignoring its existence, takes the Via Claudia Valeria along the right bank of the river from Corfinium to Ostia Aterni. Interpromium, which he places at the church of S. Clemente a Casauria near Torre de' Passeri on the left bank, is not served by the road according to his map. Besnier[3] thinks that the bridge crossed the Sagittario north of Corfinium and that the road followed the right bank as far as Interpromium. Furthermore, this question is complicated by the site of Interpromium, which, according to recent discoveries must be placed on both banks of the Aterno between Torre de' Passeri and the Madonna degli Angeli near Casauria. All signs of the Via Claudia Valeria have disappeared between Corfinium and Interpromium, but from the nature of the Gola di Popoli, a ravine through which the road passed north of Popoli, it would appear very probable that the road followed the right bank of the river. The river keeps much closer to the left side of the ravine than to the right and indeed there is hardly room for it to pass except on the right side, approximately along the course followed by the modern road. If then, at the entrance to the Gola di Popoli, the Via Claudia Valeria is found on the right bank of the Aternus and since Corfinium is on the same side of the river, we are bound to assume that the road never crossed the Aterno at all, or if so, that it must have crossed it twice, once below Corfinium from the right to the left bank and a second time further down from the left bank to the right. But this latter supposition is totally unnecessary and, indeed, quite unfounded. In the absence of certain knowledge respecting the position and direction of the Pons Aterni, we must fall back upon the evidence supplied by the tomb core, which we may not unnaturally assume to have stood by the side of the old highway. If we take the road by the tomb we must assert that it crossed the Sagittario just before its confluence with the Aterno and continued along the line of the modern road past the tomb core along the right bank of the river to Interpromium. We must follow Kiepert in disregarding the Pons Aterni as a point upon the course of the Via Claudia Valeria north of Corfinium.

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[1] 'Ad confluentes Aternum et Tirinum' was the meeting place of the Via Claudia Nova and the Via Claudia Valeria; see *J.R.S.*, vol. iii. p. 204, 'The Via Claudia Nova.' The course of the Via Claudia Nova from Peltuinum (Ansidonia) to its termination is quite uncertain. Perhaps for Caesar, in the absence of any paved highway, the route down the valley of the Aternus was easier and more natural than that down the Tirinus.

[2] *Italie regio IV*. *C.I.L.* ix. *Tab.* iii.

[3] Besnier, *op. cit.* p. 110. It is just possible on the score of distance that the road did cross the Sagittario before its confluence with the Aterno and that the bridge was three

Popoli is not known to be an ancient site, but a few minor excavations have produced remains of the Roman age. Tombs containing scanty funeral objects (of the Imperial period) have been found on the road between Popoli and Vittorito[1] in the contrada S. Giovanni. Various other remains, including walls in very rough *opus reticulatum*, perhaps point to the presence of a vicus. In the contrada Colle della

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miles from Corfinium. But the bridge was across the Aternus, not the river now called the Sagittario, although in ancient times the word 'Aternus' might have covered both.

[1] *Not. Scav.* 1879, p. 42.

Corte remains of an ancient storehouse[1] came to light together with pieces of amphorae and pottery. Further stretches of wall, too, were discovered in the contrada Casetta dei Frati, which perhaps may be connected with those in the contrada S. Giovanni. In 1892 the contrada Somma[2] yielded a tomb of the Roman period and a funeral inscription. Unfortunately none of these finds can be connected with the topography of the Via Claudia Valeria, although they indicate the presence of a population in ancient times.

The modern town of Popoli stands at the southern extremity of a wild and magnificent pass known as the Gola di Popoli (Pl. XIII, 2), 3 kilometres in length and never more than 500 metres wide. On the north-west side, the hill, known as Castiglione, crowned by a ruined mediaeval castle, slopes rapidly down to the river, while, on the other side, the descent from M. Corvo is equally precipitous. River, modern road and railway all follow through the pass, the road keeping on the right bank of the river. At the northern end of the pass the barrier hills on the left break to allow the Tirino to unite with the Aterno. At the point of junction of the rivers there is a large plain, guarded on the north by the hill known as Punta di Colle, on the east by the graceful peaks of the Tre Monti. To the north-east the river, now known as the Pescara, plunges into another wild defile. This is the site of the 'confluentes Aternus et Tirinus,' where, according to the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 5959, the Via Claudia Nova,[3] starting from Foruli (Civitatomassa) south-west of Amiternum near the head waters of the Aternus, reached its conclusion and was met by the Via Claudia Valeria. The natural charm of the scene is diminished by the presence of extensive electrochemical works, driven by power derived from the two rivers.

In ancient times a vicus must have existed at the junction of the two roads. Indeed, the presence of human beings there is proved by the discovery[4] of tombs in the contrada Valle di Tremonti, at the point of junction of the two rivers. Two tombs, both inhumation, were excavated, the second of which revealed two inscriptions, of uncertain interpretation and late date. On the hill known as Ara di Colle, on the right bank of the Tirinus near the confluence, scanty remains[1] of walls, tiles and tombs of the Roman period, have been noticed and an inhumation tomb was found in the contrada La Tufera just to the right of the Aterno near the confluence. It has been proposed to place Interpromium 'ad confluentes Aternum et Tirinum,' but these discoveries, though they undoubtedly show that the spot was inhabited in Roman times, by no means justify the identification.[2] In the Gola di Popoli there are unfortunately no indications of the course of the Via Claudia Valeria, nor again in the defile which follows until the valley broadens below Tocco Casauria and the heights on each side become less imposing. Just on the boundary between the communes of Tocca Casauria and Torre de' Passeri, in the contrada Madonna degli Angeli, on the right bank of the Pescara, remains of walls and tombs of the Roman period have been discovered. There is nothing, however, to inform us more specifically of the vicus which certainly stood upon that site.

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[1] *Not. Scav.* 1887, p. 420. Several large *dolia* were found *in situ*.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1892, p. 123.

[3] The Via Claudia Nova was constructed in 47 A.D., the Via Claudia Valeria in 48–49 A.D. The dates probably refer to the completion of the roads. Cf. 'The Via Claudia Nova' in *J.R.S.* vol. iii., p. 204. Since writing that article I have discovered that Cuntz (*Jahreshefte des Oest. Arch. Inst.* vii. 1904), deals with the Claudia Nova and especially with Pitinum (which he puts at Coppito) p. 65 *sqq.* and (p. 70) proposes to put Prifernum at Aquila.

[4] *Not. Scav.* 1877, pp. 90, 91.

The Badia[3] of S. Clemente a Casauria, which is seen just below Torre de' Passeri on the left bank of the Pescara, must certainly be regarded as being in the vicinity of the site of Interpromium. Interpromium is mentioned several times in the ancient Itineraries,[4] but as the distances which separate it from the stations immediately before and after it (Corfinium and Teate) vary in every statement of them which we possess, the solution of the problem is attended by considerable difficulty. The most decisive piece of information which we possess concerning

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[1] *Not. Scav.* 1877, pp. 126, 127.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1877, p. 127. A. de Nino here proposed to put Interpromium at Ara di Colle, but afterwards (*Not. Scav.* 1895, pp. 442–446) he changes his opinion.

[3] Calore in *Arch. Stor. dell Arte*, iv. (1891), 9 *seq.*; Keppel Craven, *Excursions in the Abruzzi*, vol. i. p. 281 *seq.*

[4] According to scale measurements the estimated distances are; from Corfinium to Interpromium m.p. 12, from Interpromium to Teate m.p. 16. The *Itinerarium Antoninianum* gives, in one passage (p. 308), Corfinio—XI.—Interpromium—XVII.—Teate Marrucino. Elsewhere (p. 101) the distance from Sulmo to Interpromium is given as m.p. 25; thus, since (Caesar, *B.C.* i. 18) Sulmo was m.p. 7 distant from Corfinium, the distance separating Corfinium and Interpromium is shewn to be m.p. 18. According to another passage Ostia Aterni is m.p. 25 distant from Interpromium and, as the distance from Ostia Aterni to Teate is according to measurements m.p. 8, that between Teate and Interpromium is m.p. 17. In any case the Itinerary points to a site between the villages of S. Valentino and Tocca Casauria. Cf. Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 286.

Interpromium is the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 3046[1] embedded in the floor of the church of S. Clemente a Casauria.

The small area of country, about one square kilometre in extent, which lies between Torre de' Passeri and S. Clemente a Casauria, has recently yielded important remains of the Roman period. It is crossed by a tratturo or sheep track. At Fara Vecchia. in this locality, there are remains of an aqueduct and walls, while coins dating from late classical and early mediaeval times have been found in the course of agricultural operations. Among other finds are numbered a funeral inscription of the Imperial period and remains of a storage apartment. The *tratturo* yielded a fragmentary funeral inscription. Remains of a villa, inhumation tombs and a large sepulchral basrelief complete the discoveries made in 1895.[2]

In 1901[3] an important basrelief of Luna marble (now in the Museo Nazionale di Napoli) was found at Torre de' Passeri. It probably formed part of the facing of an altar. The two figures upon it are Athene *Ὑγίεια* and Demeter, bearing attributes and beautifully draped. A *θεωρία* of divinities was probably represented on the whole relief, of which the portion shewing Athene and Demeter has alone come down to us. It is a splendid Roman copy of a Greek original of the fifth century. A funeral inscription was discovered in the same locality.

Every indication, then, seems to point to the fact that we must place Interpromium on the left bank of the Pescara between Torre de' Passeri and S. Clemente a Casauria, which probably stands upon the site of an ancient temple. Assuming that the Via Claudia Valeria passed along the right bank of the Pescara from Corfinium to Interpromium, we must suppose either that the road here crossed from the right to the left bank and recrossed immediately afterwards, or that the town was connected with the highroad by a *deverticulum*. On the left bank of the river, two kilometres upstream from the bridge at S. Clemente are seen the remains of substructions quite close to the water, consisting of large roughly hewn blocks of limestone, generally quadrilateral. They extend for about 80 metres and, as we cannot regard them as substructions of the Via Claudia Valeria, they probably served to regulate the course of the stream and protect the banks. The Pescara here runs very swiftly and in places has cut deep gorges for itself in the valley. Immediately above the modern bridge at S. Clemente is to be seen the N.W. shoulder of a bridge (Pl. XIII, 3), while down in the gorge, 100 feet below, were shattered fragments from the remains of this structure. The ruins need closer examination, but at first sight they seemed to belong to a mediaeval bridge. No traces of Roman work were visible. The bridge stood upon the site of one of Roman construction by which the Via Claudia Valeria crossed from the right to the left bank of the Pescara. (See Postscript.)

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[1] It reads C.C. SVLMONII · PRIMUS · ET · FORTVNATVS / PONDERARIVM PAGI. · INTERPROMINI / vi TERRAEMOTVS DILAPSAM · A · SOLO / SVA PECVNIA · RESTITVERVNT. Mommsen *ad. loc.* says that this discovery is decisive proof of the existence of Interpromium in the neighbourhood of S. Clemente Casauria. Mancini (*Topografia del pago Interpromio ne' Vestini*, p. 32) wrongly puts Interpromium at Popoli.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1895, 442–446. The conclusions drawn by the writer (A. de Nino) are that Fara Vecchia and S. Clemente are on a site inhabited in Roman times, most probably that of Interpromium. He renounces his opinion (*Not. Scav.* 1877, 364, 443) that Interpromium was situated at Ara di Colle, just outside the Gola di Popoli.

[3] *Not. Scav.* 1901, 263–285.

After passing Torre de' Passeri the valley of the Pescara undergoes a complete transformation, losing much of its wildness and magnificence. The river bed becomes much broader, there are numerous indications that the stream has changed its course and, with the exception that the country on both sides still partakes of a rough and mountainous character, the valley somewhat resembles that of the Aufidus (the Ofanto) below the hills of Cannae. The village of S. Valentino, which lies three kilometres away on the hillside to the south is one of the candidates for identification with Interpromium. The region, as discoveries shew, was certainly inhabited in Roman times, but we cannot say anything more definite. Remains of walls[1] in *opus reticulatum*, fragments of a small aqueduct and tombs with funeral objects, including an inscribed cinerary urn, have come to light near the railway station of S. Valentino. At the village of S. Valentino[2] a few remains of the Roman period have been discovered, including a tomb, mosaic, a basrelief and a fragmentary funeral inscription, while between S. Valentino and the neighbouring village of Bolognano an ancient necropolis[3] has left numerous traces of itself.

The passage from the *Acta Sanctorum*,[4] which is sometimes quoted in support of the theory that Interpromium is to be placed at S. Valentino, really refutes it. The passage reads 'Post diem tertium venerunt

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[1] *Not. Scav.* 1885, 204, 205. [2] *Not. Scav.* 1890, 20,21. [3] *Not. Scav.* 1894, 386, 387.
[4] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 286, note 1. Cf. *Eph. Epigr.* viii. p. 32.

(Ss. Valentinus et Damianus) in comitatu Valvensi et applicuerunt civitatem Corfiniam . . . . cumque iacerent foris muros civitatis . . . . surgentes . . . . sancti coeperunt iter agere. Venientes itaque iuxta fluvium Piscariam in loco ubi dicitur Pons Marmoreus invenerunt ibi quendam iuvenem iacentem paralyticum . . . . et statim surrexit homo sanus de lecto . . . . cumque audissent habitatores civitatis Iterpromii, venere viri et mulieres ad sanctos martyres et rogaverunt eos ut ibi morarentur per aliquantos dies. Quibus Valentinus episcopus dixit, quia oportet nos ire ad locum quem dominus noster nobis praedestinavit, prope etenim est finis nostrae vitae. Haec eis dicentibus carpebant iter cum gaudio. Denique ante solis occubitum ingressi sunt in civitatem Zappinam quae erat sita trans flumen Ortae iuxta fluvium Piscariae atque ex alio latere erat flumen Lavinum. Civitas namque illa habebat iniquissimos . . . paganos . . . duxerunt eos in magnam silvam non longe a civitate Zappina ibique affixos gladiis decollaverunt.'

Of the localities mentioned in the passage the 'Piscaria' is none other than the Pescara. The 'flumen Ortae' is the modern F. Orte which descends from the hills below Bolognano and joins the Pescara just above the Torre de' Passeri, while 'Lavinum' is the F. Lavino which flows into the Pescara at Scafa 4 kilometres downstream. There is a 'colle dei Zappini' according to the Staff Map, below the Orte and the Pescara, which must have inherited its name from the civitas Zappina, which we may identify with the modern S. Valentino. But there is clearly a distinction between Interpromium and the civitas Zappina, which militates against the identification of the two places.

In the neighbourhood of Interpromium is the boundary between the Vestini, the Paeligni and the Marrucini. Whether Interpromium is to be assigned to the Marrucini or to the Paeligni is a doubtful point. Mommsen[1] places it in the territory of the Paeligni; Nissen[2] in that of the Marrucini. It has been suggested[3] that an inscription discovered at Chieti (Teate Marrucinorum) in 1887 supports the supposition that Interpromium was a vicus under Teate in the territory of the Marrucini. It refers to a Septimius Calvus, of the Tribus Arnensis to which the Marrucini belonged, who had precisely the same offices as are attributed to Sextus Pedius Hirrutus by the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 3044 coming from S. Valentino, where some topographers place Interpromium. But as Interpromium is to be placed near Torre de' Passeri rather than at S. Valentino, the hypothesis loses much of its weight.

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[1] *C.I.L.* ix. p. 286. He says that the mention of two Sulmonii, probably freedmen of Sulmo, mentioned in the inscription *C.I.L.* ix. 3046 (quoted p. 98, n. 1), inclines him to believe that it was in the territory of the Paeligni. Two other inscriptions (*C.I.L.* ix. 3072 from Manoppello; *C.I.L.* ix. 3049 from Torre de' Passeri) mention respectively the Tribus Arnensis (Marrucini) and the Tribus Sergia (Paeligni).

[2] *op. cit.* ii. p. 444.

[3] *Not. Scav.* 1887, 159; *Eph. Epigr.* viii. p. 27, no. 120. The inscription reads SEPTIMIO · L · F / ARN · CALVO / AED · IIII VIR · I · D · PRAEF / EX · S · C / QVINQVENNALICIA / POTESTATE / SEPTIMIVS · CALVVS / ANVS · FECIT

Beyond S. Valentino the valley of the Pescara becomes still broader, enclosed on each side by undulating slopes. From the Taverna dell' Alba (Pl. XIII, 4), on the modern road, past which the Fosso di Manoppello flows down into the Pescara, a fine view is obtained across the low foothills to the Gran Sasso d' Italia, 40 miles away. Most noticeable is the abrupt escarpment; it falls almost precipitously to the lower ground which slowly sinks down to the coast.

The modern highroad from here onwards presents no traces of antiquity. Nevertheless, we must imagine that it represents the course of the Via Valeria, all signs of which have completely disappeared. Chieti, on the ancient site of Teate, the only city of the Marrucini, enjoys a magnificent and almost unapproachable position upon a commanding hill to the east of the highroad. So steep is it and so indented with valleys and depressions that the modern roads which approach it from the north and south are 9 and 7 kilometres long respectively from their points of departure from the main highroad, which runs in the valley of the Pescara below. The Marrucini and Frentani became subjects of Rome in 304 B.C. Beyond the fact that the Marrucini remained faithful in the Hannibalic, but revolted in the Social War, they are almost unknown to history.

No conspicuous remains of the ancient[1] Teate are to be seen above ground, but excavations have produced most interesting results. These excavations have taken place in the heart of the city and have been chiefly connected with the prolongation of the Corso for the improvement of communications between the upper and lower parts of the city. In 1880[2] important finds were made below the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele, to be ascribed to the early years of the Empire or to the last years of the Republic and probably belonging to a family mausoleum. The remains also of an aqueduct were unearthed, which distributed water not only to baths but also to public fountains. The aqueduct is, in all probability, that which was constructed by C. Asinius Gallus, the son of the famous C. Asinius Pollio, and was later restored by Dusmia Numisilla (*C.I.L.* ix. 3018). In the next year remains of the ancient necropolis of Teate were discovered outside the Porta S. Anna.[1] Near the church of S. Maria Calvona [2] numerous funeral inscriptions were discovered and in 1888 the fragments of an important monumental group,[3] bearing reliefs of a gladiatorial combat. These interesting and striking reliefs apparently formed part of the frieze and pediment of the tomb of C. Lusius Storax. These and the relief of Athene *'Υγίεια* and Demeter discovered at Torre de' Passeri (page 98 infra) are the most conspicuous monuments connected with the Via Claudia Valeria. The church of S. Pietro e Paolo at Chieti is built upon vaulted substructions, attributed to a Roman temple in *opus reticulatum* and brickwork, with walling of *opus quadratum* in places.

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[1] Mommsen, *C.I.L.* ix. p. 282.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1880, 170–178.

Considerable remains of the pavement of an ancient road or street were unearthed in Chieti itself in the latter part of the nineteenth century. About 1870 a local archaeologist, Sig. Vincenzo Zecca, concluded that a *deverticulum* of the Via Claudia Valeria passed through Chieti from the 'Largo del Pozzo,' at the beginning of the Corso to the Porta Pescara and thence descended to the mainroad in the valley. This conclusion was reached through the discovery (before 1870) of a fragment of ancient pavement between the Ufficio Annonario and the Casa Troise. The pavement, in excellent preservation, was 4·50 metres wide, composed of polygonal blocks of selce and worn away by wheel marks. On one side it was bounded by a footpath (*crepido*), on the other by a low wall. A *cippus* was also discovered. The foundations of the pavement were revealed by subsequent excavation to consist of three strata: firstly, a bed of gravel 0·13 metre deep; secondly, a layer of beaten earth 0·26 metre deep; and lastly, a solid foundation of gravel, 0·66 metre deep, mixed with broken bricks, tiles and some sand.

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[1] *Not. Scav.* 1881, 294–297, where an inventory of all the funeral objects is given. Additional finds were made in 1882, 1883 and 1886. *Not. Scav.* 1882, 375; 1884, 87; 1886, 459. *Eph. Epigr.* viii. p. 27, nos. 119–128.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1886, 169; 1887, 158.

[3] *Not. Scav.* 1888, 745. The reliefs have been described in detail by E. Ghislanzoni in *Mon. Lincei*, vol. xix. p. 541–614, with plates.

In 1897 further fragments of this same pavement were discovered. One stretch was 17 m. long, 3·30 m. wide, with a *crepido* 1·70 m. wide on the east side and with traces of one on the west. Another fragment 3·0 m. wide was unearthed beneath the Villa Adami in the locality known as Civitella, at the highest point of the city.

Zecca,[1] on the evidence given by these discoveries of pavement, traces the course of the road or street right through Chieti. Unfortunately no such interesting remains of pavement have been found on the ascent to or the descent from Chieti to the valley of the Pescara. It is probable that, while the main line of the Via Claudia Valeria kept to the low ground in the valley, a *deverticulum*, the exact course of which cannot be described with certainty, served to connect Teate with the main road.

After descending from Chieti the modern road passes over a flat plain and reaches the Adriatic at Pescara after 9 kilometres. The distance from Teate to the Ostia Aterni is about 8 Roman miles. All traces [2] of the Via Claudia Valeria have disappeared. Nor is this surprising. Upon the growth of population and commerce and the increased importance of places, the Roman road with its narrow track became inadequate and was replaced by another wider road, which the older generation of men still remembers; and, for the same reasons, this also was replaced in its turn by the wider and more convenient modern highway. Furthermore, the ancient road flanked by fertile and well cultivated country, has either through the construction of new roads or through itself falling into disuse, been destroyed little by little or buried underground, so that at present there are no visible traces which might enable us to determine its original course.

Some doubt, too, exists with regard to the site of Aternum where the Via Claudia Valeria reaches the mouth of the Aternus. According to

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[1] 'Zecca. Chieti sotterranea,' para. 10 (published in the appendix to the local periodical *L'Aterno*, 1870, nos. 104–110 and 1871, nos. 2–9) and *Not. Scav.* 1880, 170 *sqq.* In *Gli scavi della Via Ulpia in Chieti* (Teramo, 1897) he summarises his previous writings and assigns the following course to the *deverticulum* in the neighbourhood of Chieti—Contrada S. Maria Callona—Civitella—Villa Adami—largo Trinità—Corso—largo Mercatello—strada del Popolo, Ulpia, Arniense, Toppi, Porta Pescara—and thence down towards Tricalle and the plain. Further remains of antiquity at Teate are mentioned by Abbate, *op. cit.* p. 300. He enumerates a theatre and a reservoir—the former near the Porta Reale, in the locality called Civitella, now mostly occupied by private houses. The latter is a building to the S. near the former convent of the Paolotti and consists of seven large chambers; in the vault of each, which is of brickwork, are two large openings.

[2] Cf. Persichetti, 'Alla ricerca della Via Caecilia,' *Röm. Mitt.* 1902, 301.

Strabo,[1] Aternum took its name from the river which divided the territory of the Vestini and the Marrucini, but belonged to the Vestini. It was the common harbour of the Paeligni and the Marrucini. The discovery of inscriptions at Pescara on the left bank of the river seems to show that Aternum was situated there. No inscriptions attribute any constitution to the place. It would be a *vicus*. It has been suggested [2] that in ancient times the Pescara divided before reaching the sea, forming an island in which the ancient *vicus* stood. The configuration of the ground immediately above the present mouth of the Pescara seems to favour this hypothesis. On the hill known as Colle della Corona, a mile away from Pescara on the right bank of the river, débris of Roman walling and pottery have been noticed. On the same hill a necropolis, containing over 300 tombs, was discovered by peasants in the course of field work, but unfortunately the contents were in great part scattered and destroyed. These signs of the presence of human beings in the Roman age were discovered on the right bank of the supposed second branch of the Aternus, but they do not authorise us to place the ancient Aternum [3] on the hill known as Colle della Corona.

POSTCRIPT.

G. De Petra and P. L. Calore, in an article entitled ‘Interpromium e Ceii’ published in *Atti della R. Accademia di Napoli*, xxi. (1900–1), p. 155 *seq.* make important statements concerning the course of the Via Claudia Valeria in the vicinity of Interpromium, based upon local investigation and excavation. Their conclusions can be summarised as follows :—

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[1] Strabo, v. 4. 2. p. 241: τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα κωμηδὸν ζῶσιν, ἔχουσι δὲ καὶ πόλεις . . . ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ θαλάττῃ τό τε Ἄτερνον ὅμορον τῇ Πικεντίνῃ, δμώνυμον δὲ τῷ ποτάμῳ τῷ διορίζοντι τήν τε Οὐηστίνην καὶ τὴν Μαρρουκίνην . . . τὸ δὲ πόλισμα τὸ ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ Οὐηστίνων μέν ἐστι, κοινῷ δ' ἐπινείῳ χρῶνται καὶ οἱ Παιλίγνοι καὶ οἱ Μαρρουκήνοι. Pliny (*N.H.* iii. 106) and Mela (ii. 65) say that the territory of the Frentani extended right up to the Aternus. Cf. *C.I.L.* ix. p. 316.

[2] *Not. Scav.* 1896, 206–208.

[3] Keppel Craven, *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 291–292 ‘In the days of the Roman republic this estuary was illustrated by the existence of a considerable town, which, from it, has been named Aternum, and entirely covered the site of the modern Pescara; with this difference, that it likewise extended to the opposite bank of the river, to which it was united by a bridge. . . . Several tombs and vestiges of ancient buildings have been found in the immediate vicinity, and attest the identity of Aternum; which has likewise been proved by inscriptions, many of which are preserved and copied.’

1. Interpromium is to be located in the Piano di Casauria, N.E. of Tocco Casauria, and lay on both sides of the Pescara. In ancient times the river formed a fork just upstream of the site, but in the middle ages the northern arm dried up.

2. Mozzetti (*Giornale Abruzzese*, 1839, No. xxxii. p. 66) saw the road in section, except for the paving stones on the top of the bed, on the right bank of the Pescara upstream of S. Clemente a Casauria.

3. De Petra and Calore (*op. cit.* p. 185) mention (*a*) the ruins of the Pons Regalis, which collapsed in 1777, lying in the bed of the stream 250 metres from the ‘ monumento di Casauria ’ and to the north of these a small tomb which had likewise fallen, (*b*) the ruins of a bridge which fell in 1893 downstream of it.

4. At the site of the Pons Regalis the Via Claudia Valeria crossed the Pescara and continued on the left bank for about a mile until it recrossed 62 m. upstream of the railway bridge E. of Torre de’ Passeri and less than a mile further on, crossed the F. Orte 25 m. downstream of the railway bridge, in the construction of which a pillar of the ancient bridge was found by two workmen.

5. In 1850 an inscription PAGI CEIANI was discovered in the Contrada Solcano about a mile to the west of the confluence of the F. Lavino and the Pescara. Traces of the road have been noted near the railway station of S. Valentino and also those of baths (?) at the mouth of the Lavino. It is considered, therefore, that *Ceii* or *Pagus Ceianus*, mentioned in a corrupt form by the *Tab. Peut.* and the *Geog. Ravennas*, is to be located here. This inscription, which is not mentioned in the Corpus, supplies material evidence for the existence of such a place.

It is regretted that the above information was obtained too late for incorporation in the text, but it involves no change in the opinion there expressed (p. 98) that the Via Claudia Valeria crossed the Pescara just upstream of Interpromium and recrossed afterwards. On the map, however, the road should be shown as crossing the F. Orte before its confluence with the Pescara and *Ceii* or *Pagus Ceianus* should be marked between the 30th and 31st miles. The designation, too, of the road between the 25th and 31st miles should be changed from ‘ probable ’ to ‘ certain.’

The *Pons Aterni.*

With reference to Caesar's victory at Corfinium and the site of the Pons Aterni there is an important article in *Klio*, xiii. (1913), p. 1 *seq.* The author, G. Veith, makes Caesar, *in order to conceal his movements*, reach the valley of the Aternus near Torre dei Passeri, after a cross-country march from Asculum. He considers that Caesar struck thence due W. over the mountains by Bussi sul Tirino and fell upon Domitius' five cohorts at Popoli (see his article p. 9 and map). The Pons Aterni he puts somewhere near Popoli. Pansa, *Il ponto sull' Aterno roccato da Cesare nell' assedio di Corfinio e la menzione di esso in una carta del* 1193 (Sulmona 1903), says that the pilae of the old wooden bridge are visible.

This piece of information, which was only obtained after this article had been set up in type, is important as material evidence for the site of the Pons Aterni, and makes it extremely probable that it must be placed at Popoli.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
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ANTIQUAE STATUAE URBIS ROMAE.

By THOMAS ASHBY, D.Litt., F.S.A.

The history of the monuments and works of art of the classical period, which were in existence in Rome during the Renaissance, is of importance to us for many reasons. We may learn what were the materials which were at the disposal of the great masters in architecture, painting, and sculpture, and see in their drawings and sketches, as well as in the works which they actually executed, what use they made of the models which they had before their eyes, and what interested them in a greater or less degree. We may trace the growth of that antiquarianism out of which the science of archaeology was in process of time to develop. We may also obtain valuable information concerning much that has been destroyed or lost, or has, at least, come down to us in a very different state to that in which it was in their day.

If this is obvious in regard to architecture, it is no less true of the other arts: and although we must beware of supposing that the painter limited himself to the study of ancient painting, and the sculptor to the study of ancient sculpture,[1] instead of taking what suited or pleased them best wherever they might chance to find it among the remains of antique art, it will always be most instructive to know what models they had before them, and how they adapted them to their own requirements.

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[1] Amelung has shown (in Hoffmann, *Raphael als Architekt*, iv. *Vatikanischer Palast*, pp. 57 *sqq.*) in how wide a field Raphael's pupils sought their models for the decoration of the Loggie in the Vatican, making use of coins and gems, as well as of reliefs and statues.

From this point of view then, the study of the history of antique statuary during the Renaissance, which as we have seen, is only one branch of a far wider subject, is of undoubted utility to us in furthering our comprehension of Renaissance sculpture. For, while it is true that the sculptors of the fifteenth century had before them a far smaller number of ancient statues than we should at first be inclined to suppose, and made use to a much greater extent of reliefs or small objects, which were as a rule in a better state of preservation, the next century saw a great increase in the number of the former class of works of classical art: and these soon began to serve as appropriate decorations to palaces and gardens, and thus acquired a new importance. Collectors ceased to be content with heaping up statues or fragments of statues in picturesque confusion, as we still see them in the sketches of Marten van Heemskerck, in the small courtyards of the mediaeval and early Renaissance houses of Rome: and in the magnificent palaces of the sixteenth century statues, as well as bas-reliefs, began to take an important place in the architectural scheme—as, for example, in the Villa of Pope Julius III. (Villa di Papa Giulio) and the casino of Pius IV. in the Vatican garden, and in the group of buildings on the Capitol, where Michelangelo used statues on the skyline with considerable effect. In other cases they were systematically arranged to form the decoration of gardens.[1] The collocation of these statues was, indeed, fortunate, corresponding as it did with the way in which they had been employed by the Romans themselves (how far the coincidence is deliberate and in what measure fortuitous, we cannot attempt here to enquire): and there is no doubt that many a statue of secondary artistic value, which rouses little interest in a museum where works of first-rate excellence claim the major part of our attention, is thoroughly appropriate to such a decorative function.

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[1] See Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Heidelberg, 1917), v. *sqq.*

Hülsen's work deals with the garden of the Cesi family, near S. Peter's just inside the Porta Cavalleggieri, and with the gardens of Cardinal Rodolfo Pio di Carpi and Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, both on the Quirinal, the former entirely swept away, the latter surviving in part as the garden of the Royal Palace.

See also my article on 'The Villa d'Este at Tivoli and the collection of classica sculptures which it contained,' in *Archaeologia*, lxi (1908), 219 *sqq.*

Indeed, one of the main factors in the formation of the great collections of sculpture in the city of Rome during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the desire of the builders of the palaces in which the best works were housed to adorn the courtyards and exteriors of these buildings with sculptures of lesser merit, which were not considered worthy of protection from the weather.

The history of these collections of sculpture, is, thus, at once the history of the development of the sculptor's art in Europe, and the history of the growth of public and private collections outside Rome. The city had already begun to yield up some of her treasures in the sixteenth century, but, after a period of great wealth and prosperity in the seventeenth, during which many of the principal families formed their famous collections, was deprived of them during the eighteenth century to a far greater extent than before: for it was then that foreign, and especially British, competition became keen and was, further, able to take advantage of the pecuniary embarrassments of the Roman nobles.

The present paper can only claim to be a contribution to a branch of this subject.[1] It is, in the main, a study, from a bibliographical point of view, of the most extensive collection of engravings of sculpture which was published in the sixteenth century—that of Joannes Baptista de Cavalleriis (Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri),[2] a native of the Val Lagherina—the valley of the Adige to the south of Trento—(1525 (?)–1601), consisting, in its ultimate form, of 200 plates. The engravings of sculpture which occur in the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* of Antoine Lafrèry (some of which are earlier in date, and, as we shall see, served as models for Cavalieri's plates) as well as the iconographic publications of Achilles Statius and Fulvius Ursinus, deserve treatment by themselves[3]: while the collection of engravings of sculpture published by Laurentius Vaccarius

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[1] An attempt was made to deal with it by Hübner, *Le Statue di Roma* (*Grundlagen für eine Geschichte der antiken Monumente in der Renaissance*) vol. i. Leipzig, 1912: but Hülsen's review, severe, though I cannot say unjust, in *Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen* 1914, 257 *sqq*. points how far this work is from being as fundamental as the subtitle would claim. I am much indebted to Prof. Hülsen for help and advice in regard to the first draft of the present paper.

[2] A list of his works is given by Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii. 243. Ozzola (in Thieme-Becker, *Lexikon*, vi. 217) unwisely omits the first edition (our I. 1) which Nagler had cited, and treats I. 2 as the first: and he follows Nagler in entirely omitting II.

[3] See Ehrle, *La Pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafrèry*, 15 *sqq.*: Hülsen in *Röm. Mitt.* xvi. (1901), 123 *sqq.*

(Lorenzo della Vaccaria)[1] in 1584, has no independent value except for the comparatively small number of plates which are not taken from earlier publications: and the small woodcuts which Girolamo Franzini used in various guidebooks from 1588 onwards, and also published separately, are also in large measure copies, though a good many of them are independent.[2]

A considerable number of the plates of Cavalieri have survived, after many vicissitudes, until the present day, and the investigation of their history may not be without interest for the light which it throws on the trade in engravings and books and the method of their production in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries in Rome. We shall see with what kind of illustrations of the most famous works of classical art antiquarians had to content themselves, and what were the books which travellers took home with them. We see the Venetians publishing pirated editions, the engravings as in many other cases[3] being copied with absolute fidelity, as soon as the privilege of ten years had expired.

The comparative rarity of copies of the various editions of Cavalieri's work and of those of his successors (the 1585 edition of Books i. ii. is the commonest) is somewhat surprising, if we consider the greater diffusion of other books dealing with Rome. On the other hand, the number of copies printed may, as in the case of Labacco's work, have been extremely small: and the demand for these collections of statues was not perhaps very great. Ecclesiastics may have found among them too many nude statues for their taste—it is worth noting that the copy in the Vittorio Emanuele library bears the legend on the title-page "Bibl. (iotheca) secr. (eta) Soc. (ietatis) Iesu": while artists who bought the book may have torn out the individual prints. And in any case, the plans of the city of Rome provide far more striking examples of the disappearance of almost every copy of engraved works which, one would have thought, would have had a not inconsiderable vogue among visitors to the city.

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[1] Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 10, n. 9, makes him out to be a Frenchman; but cf. *ibid.* 59.

[2] The same remark applies to Filippo Tomassini's *Antiquarum Statuarum Urbis Romae Liber Primus* (*circa* 1608). I intend to deal with both these works on another occasion.

[3] See my article, 'Il libro d'Antonio Labacco appartenente all' Architettura,' in *Bibliofilia*, xvi. (1914), 302 *sqq.*

The various editions may be classified as follows :—

I. *Cavalieri.*

1. Liber Primus.
    - (*a*) Before dedication (undated). Title and 58 plates.
    - (*b*) Truchsess (1561–2). Title and 52 plates. (Table *a* (1), Col. I. *a*).
    - (*c*) Truchsess (1562–70). ,, ,, ,,
    - (*d*) Porro (1570). ,, ,, ,,
    - (*e*) ,, (1576). ,, ,, ,,
2. Liber Primus et Secundus. Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. I. *b*).
    - (*a*) Madrucci (before 1584).
    - (*b*) ,, (1585).
3. Liber Tertius et Quartus (1594). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (2), Col. I. *b*).

II. *Vaccaria and Van Schaych.*

1. Lorenzo della Vaccaria (1584), 73 plates including title.
2. ,, ,, (as *parte terza, circa* 1608), 80 plates including title.
3. Gottifredo de Schaichis (Goert van Schaych) as *Pars Secunda*, 1621, 80 plates including title (Table *β*, Col. I.).

III. *Publications based mainly on Cavalieri.*

A. 1. Marcucci (1623), 140 plates including 3 titles (Table *a*, Col. V.).
  2. ,, (1623), 100 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. V.).
  3. Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1640–68). Title and (?) plates (Table *a*, Col. VI.).
  4. Giovanni Battista De Rossi (1668). Title and 70(?) plates (Table *a*, Col. VI.).

B. 1. Nicolaus van Aelst (1608–13). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. VII. ; Table *γ*, Col. I.).
  2. Giuseppe De Rossi of Milan (1619). Title and 100 plates (Table *a* (1), Col. VII. ; Table *γ*, Col. I.).
  3. Giovanni Domenico De Rossi (1645), 140 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. VIII.).

4. Giangiacomo De Rossi (1649–94), 140 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. IX. ; Table *γ*, Col. II.).
5. Calcogràfia Camerale (Reale), 133 plates including 2 titles (Table *a*, Col. X. ; Table *γ*, Col. III.).

The Tables, with a list of the contents of Cavalieri (Table *a*), Vaccaria (Table *β*) and the present Calcografia collection (Table *δ*) together with a list of the plates added by Van Aelst (Table *γ*), will be found at the end of this paper. We shall now proceed to a detailed consideration of the different editions, following the classification given above.

I. 1 (*a*). The first edition of Cavalieri's collection consisted, it would seem, of title-page and fifty-eight plates. The copy in the Biblioteca Angelica in Rome, which previously belonged to the library of Cardinal Passionei (d. 1761) bears the pressmark LL. 21. 14. It contains only fifty plates besides the title ; but it is clear that eight plates have been cut out. These plates all recur in later editions, so that it is easy to reconstruct the contents of the original one.[1] It is not so easy to be quite sure of the exact order of the plates, none of which are numbered, though it is in the main identical with that of the next edition, which consisted of only fifty-two plates : in this a numbering was introduced, which is given in Table *a*, Col. I. *a*. The title-page of the first edition has the following legend in the upper cartouche :—

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[1] Plates 1–37 are in the same order as in the next edition, except that 25 and 26 have been wrongly inverted, and that No. 8 represents the so-called Antinous in the Vatican, which is omitted in the next edition, and does not recur until the first enlarged edition (I. 2 (*a*)) appeared. Two leaves have been cut out between 24 and 25, and two more between 28 and 29 ; but only two statues from the collection of the Cardinal of Ferrara (Nos. 38, 39 of the next edition) have been left out, so that it looks as if the original order had not been preserved when the book was rebound in the eighteenth century. No. 38 is I. 2 (*a*) No. 91, and No. 41 is *ib.* No. 50 (neither of them occurs in the next edition), while Nos. 39, 40, 42 are respectively Table *γ*, Nos. 16, 30, 29. If this order is correct, we should have to suppose that Nos. 39–42 referred to the Carpi collection ; but in any case No. 42 (*statua incognita ibidem*) should obviously precede Nos. 40 (*statua alia incognita e marmore ibidem*) and 41 (*statua item incognita pulcherrima ibidem*). Nos. 43–50 correspond in order with the plates of the next edition, but four leaves have been cut out between Nos. 46 and 47. These, together with the two remaining to be accounted for above, will just leave room for Nos. 8, 40, 41, 42, 51, 52 of the next edition, which are not present in this copy. Whether III. IV. No. 37 (which is in the style of the first edition) actually belonged to it, is doubtful. All these plates of Cavalieri are after original drawings, except Nos. 51, 52 (Marforio and Pasquino) which are copied from the *Speculum* of Lafrèry.

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM VRBIS
ROMAE LIBER PRIMVS

The lower cartouche is blank.

The almost entire omission of the Vatican collection (the so-called Antinous is the only exception) can no longer be explained, as it was by Michaelis,[1] by the fact that Pius V. caused the statues to be as far as possible concealed from the public: but it may well be that the drawings were prepared during the pontificate of Paul IV. (1555–9) who would, no doubt, have been as much opposed to the enterprise as Pius V. himself.

The question whether Cavalieri executed these drawings himself, or relied on the help of other artists, cannot, as Hülsen points out, be answered; though it would be a natural thing that he should have had the assistance of Giannantonio Dosio, who was responsible for the views of Rome which Cavalieri engraved in 1569, and which are sometimes found bound up with copies of the enlarged collection (in four books) of engravings of statues by Cavalieri (I. 2, 3). The drawings of Dosio do not, however, provide us with any evidence on this point: and the question is rendered more difficult by the fact that, as Hülsen has made out, the drawings of the views of Rome which were prepared for the engraver's use are probably not by Dosio, but by another hand, perhaps by Cavalieri himself.[2]

(*b*) The second edition, too, has hitherto been unknown to bibliographers.[3] The copy in the library of the British School at Rome was acquired in Germany some years ago, and had formerly belonged to Kieseritzky: it was previously the property of one Napoleone de Luna (probably a Spaniard, a member of the family to which Pope Benedict XIII. also belonged) who was living in Paris at the time he wrote his name on the title-page ("Ex libris Neapoleonis à Luna: Luteti(a)e

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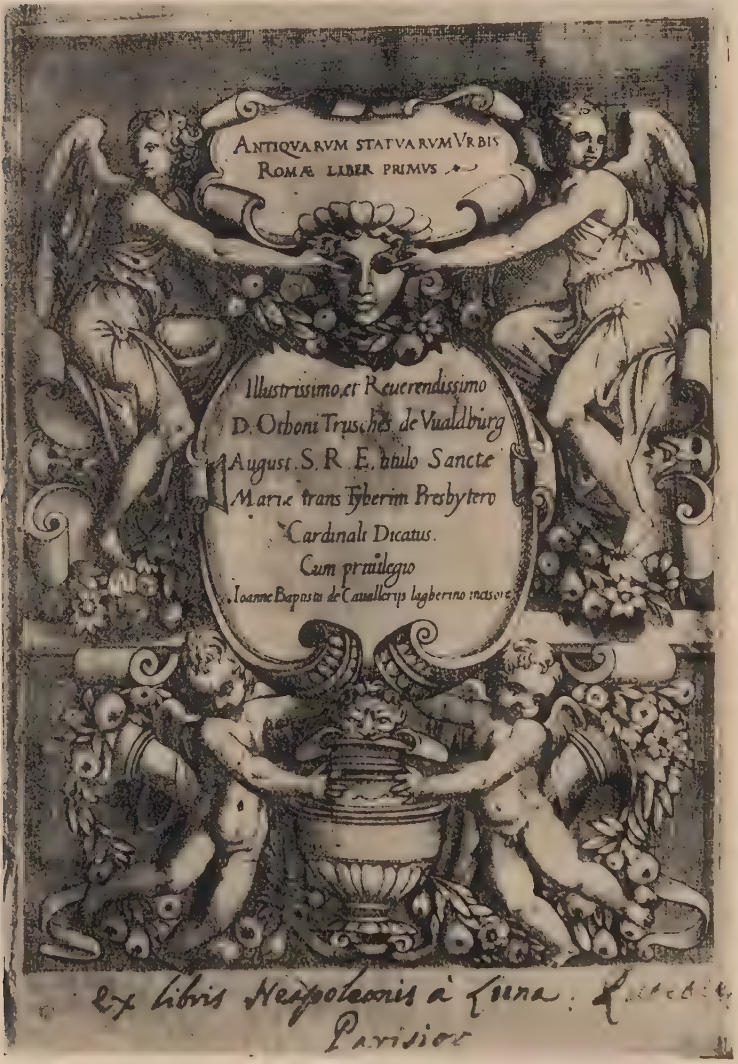
[1] *Jahrb. d. Inst.* v. (1890), p. 41.

[2] *Op. cit.* 272, *cf. Ausonia* vii. (1912), 10. In no case in which Dosio has drawn a statue which occurs in the collection formed by Cavalieri, is there any ground for supposing that the drawing served as the original of the engraving. As Hülsen says, if the investigation were worth making, it should begin from the engravings of two statues which were in Dosio's possession (iii. iv. 70, 83).

[3] It is mentioned in *Cap. Cat.* p. 11, and by Hülsen, *op. cit.* 271, n. 3, to whom I gave the information regarding it. At that time I believed it to be the first edition.

Parisior(um) "). The title-page (Fig. 1) is from the same plate, and has the same legend in the upper cartouche, as in the first edition :—

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM VRBIS
ROMÆ LIBER PRIMVS.



ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM VRBIS
ROMÆ LIBER PRIMVS

Illustrissimo, et Reuerendissimo
D. Othoni Truches. de Vualdburg
August. S. R. E. titulo Sancte
Mariæ trans Tyberim Presbytero
Cardinali Dicatus.
Cum priuilegio
Ioanne Baptista de Cauallerijs lagherino incisore

ex libris Neapoleonis à Luna : [illegible]
Parisior

FIG. 1.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, SECOND EDITION (I. 1 (*b*)).
(*Size of original* 196×144 *mm.*)

In the cartouche below the following dedication has been added :—

Illustrissimo, et Reuerendissimo
D. Othoni Trusches de Vualdburg.
August. S.R.E. titule Sanctæ
Mariæ trans Tyberim Presbytero
Cardinali Dicatus.
Cum priuilegio.
Ioanne Baptista de Cauallerijs lagherino incisore.

Otto Truchsess, Bishop of Augsburg,[1] here appears as cardinal presbyter and titular of S. Maria in Trastevere, a dignity which he obtained on April 14th, 1561, and vacated on his elevation to the see of Albano, on May 18th, 1562 (Eubel, *Hierarchia Catholica*, iii. p. 32). The appearance of the second edition of Cavalieri's work is thus fixed with precision between these two dates.

A specimen plate (the Hercules of Glycon) is given in our Fig. 2.

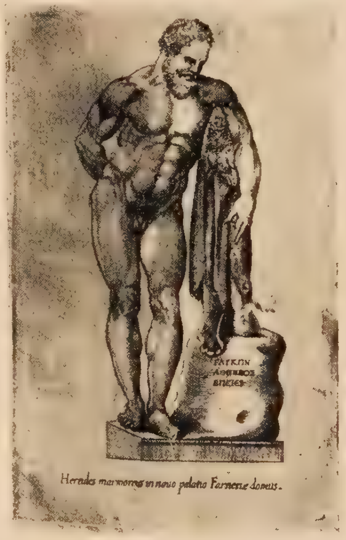

Hercules marmoreus in nouo palatio Farnesiæ domus.

FIG. 2.—SPECIMEN PLATE FROM CAVALIERI, SECOND EDITION (Table α (1), Col. I*a*, No. 9). (*Size of original* 201 × 128 *mm.*)

(*c*) After Truchsess's elevation Cavalieri altered lines 6–8 of the dedication as follows: *August. S.R.E. Cardinali Episcopo Albanensi Dicatus*[2]*:* while below line 9 he added *Apud Franciscum Palumbum Novariensem.*[3] There is a copy of this edition in Berlin (Hübner, p. 38), which may be the one in the Destailleur sale of 1895 (No. 691). The title-page was not used by Cavalieri in the later and enlarged editions of his work: but he adapted it to another work of an entirely different nature—a collection of engravings of strange beasts from all parts of the world. I have never seen the collection itself: but a copy of the title-page is preserved in the Lallemant de Betz collection at the Cabinet des Estampes in Paris (Inv. 6573). The first lines read as follows:—

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[1] *Cf.* Ciacconius, *Historiae Pontificum et Cardinalium*, iii. 692 *sqq.*, Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste*, v. vi. *passim*. He was protector of the Holy Roman Empire, and a man of great importance and learning. Michaelis (*Jahrbuch d. Inst.* v. (1890) 43) notes that Pius V. did not refuse to him, as he did to other prelates of the Church, a gift of some of the statues which he was so anxious to expel from the Vatican : *cf.* Pelli, *Saggio istorico della R. Galleria di Firenze*, i. 132.

[2] He vacated the see on April 12th, 1570, on being translated to that of Sabina : he was once more translated to Palestrina on July 3rd of the same year. He died on 2nd April, 1573.

[3] I have not been able to obtain further information in regard to Francesco Palumbo of Novara, who was obviously a publisher or bookseller ; but the name of Petrus Paulus

Opera ne la quale ui e molti Mostri de tutte le parti del mondo antichi et moderni con le dechiarationi a ciascheduno fina al presẽte anno 1585 *stāpati in Roma:* and the only part of the old legend left is *Cum priuilegio Ioanne Baptista de Caualleriјs lagherino incisore.* Palumbo's imprint has been left out.

(*d*) In 1570 Girolamo Porro of Venice published a reproduction of Cavalieri's work, which he re-engraved.[1] We do not know whether Cavalieri had obtained the usual privilege for ten years from the Venetian Senate, but it would seem improbable: for otherwise Porro would not have dared to infringe the copyright.

The title runs:—

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM VRBIS ROMAE
VENETIIS
NOVITER IMPRESS.
M.D.LXX

This betrays thoroughly unintelligent copying: and there are a few similar errors in the legends—*e.g. Poyhymnia* on Pl. 29, and *marmare* on

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Palumbus, also of Novara, who was, no doubt, a relation, is given by Zani (*Enciclopedia*, xiv. 242) and Nagler (*Monogrammisten*, iv. 3221) as a publisher of engravings in the latter half of the sixteenth century (Zani gives the date of his activity as *circa* 1578, while Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898), p. 264, n. 78, gives the period as 1560–1578). Nagler notes that his monogram occurs on several anonymous prints—a Holy Family after Raphael, a Birth of Christ, and a Crucifixion after Michaelangelo: and Ehrle, *Roma prima di Sisto V.; La pianta Du Pérac-Lafrèry*, 59, notes an engraving bearing the imprint *Petrus Paulus Palumbus Novariensis curabat, Romae* 1571. Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xv. 305, notes that later impressions of Enea Vico's engraving of the 'Accademia di Baccio Bandinelli' bear the legend *Romae Petrus Paulus Palumbus formis;* and still later copies are found with the imprint *Gaspar Albertus successor Palumbi.* Nagler is therefore wrong in speaking of his successor as C. Alberti: cf. Meyer, *Kunstlerlexikon*, i. 217. Ascanio Palombo (Nagler, i. 1102) was perhaps his brother.

[1] Cicognara (*Catalogo*, ii. No. 3543) is wrong in supposing that Porro had the use of the plates.

Pl. 33. The size of the original plate is very slightly reduced—from 203 by 130 mm. to 195 by 127 mm.

There is only one copy of this edition known, in Munich: and the following has been added in MS. on the title-page:—

Lib. 1 3 *t.* 2 *Jo. Bapt. de Cavalleriis Authore.*

Hübner has copied Michaelis' statement wrongly, and therefore states that it is in Göttingen.

(*e*) In 1576 Porro issued a reprint under the following corrected title:—

STATVE ANTICHE
CHE SONO
POSTE IN DIVERSI LVOGHI
NELLA CITTÀ
DI
ROMA
Nouamente stampate
IN VENETIA
MDLXXVI.
Apresso Girolamo Porro

The dedication, to the senator Giovanni Donato, is dated Jan. 1, 1576, and runs thus: "*fu sempre mio pensiero di giovare à ognuno non solo con la publicatione delle cose mie, ma etiandio con quelle de gli altri, che havessero alquanto del vago, onde essendomi capitato nelle mani le stampe di alcune statue antiche, che si trovano in Roma in diversi luoghi, uolendo rimandandole in luce, dedicarle a qualche gran personaggio . . . . ho giudicato, & eletto V. Clariss*(*ima*) *Sig*(*noria*) *per la più degna.*" We have seen that Porro never acquired possession of the copper-plates, but re-engraved from the copies. He received on Feb. 25, 1575–6 a general privilege "per anni 15 per li disegni che di tempo in tempo anderà facendo in stampa di rame così di figure et ritratti come d'altri disegni di cosmografia in libri ridotti et etiam separati ne in maggior ne in minor forma" (*Arch. Stato Frari, Venezia,* Senato, Terra, Filza 68. I owe this information to Mr. Horatio Brown). There are two copies in the British Museum (786 K. 47, and 786 K. 5 (1)); another in the Vatican (Cicognara 3543[1];

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[1] The printed catalogue wrongly gives the date as 1676.

another was in Baer's catalogue No. 511 (1905), No. 1582; and a fifth is in Göttingen, according to Michaelis (*loc. cit.*). Besides the Arabic numbers, there are always Roman numbers at the top, reversed.

2 (*a*).

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMÆ
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
LVDOVICO MADRVCIO
S.R.E. CARD. AMPLISSIMO
DIC.
IO. BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AUTHORE

The title-page is an entirely new one, and a far less successful production than the old. The first edition of this enlarged collection was undated[1]: see Michaelis (*loc. cit.*), who puts the residence of Lodovico Madrucci in Rome from 1567 to about 1578, while Hübner, through a misunderstanding (Ciacconius, iii. 932), extends it to 1581. Madrucci was made cardinal in 1561 and was bishop of Trento from 1563 to his death in 1600: and De Cavalleriis, who was a native of the Adige Valley below Trento, might very well have dedicated his work to him whether he was permanently resident in Rome or not. He was created bishop of the see of Sabina in 1597, translated to Frascati on Feb. 21, 1600, and died in Rome in April of the same year. There is no certain ground for fixing the transference of the "Pudicitia" (No. 15) from the Vatican to the Capitol in the year 1566: all we can be certain of is, that it did *not* come with the first thirty statues on Feb. 28 of that year (*Cap. Cat.* i.

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[1] There is a copy in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (vol. 51, H. 17, Inv. 94430–94528) with additions at the end, and there is another in my own collection, bound with Dosio's *Urbis Romae Aedificiorum Reliquiae* (1569), and Porcacchi's *Funerali Antichi* (1574). On the back of the title page of the first copy are the arms of Cavalieri—a shield with an eagle in the upper part of it, and two clubs crossed in the lower: above the shield is a helmet. Below the shield is the legend IOANNES BAPTISTAE DE CAVALLERIIS. This enlarged edition must have appeared before 1584, when the collection of Vaccaria was published (*infra*, 123): we may also note that the statues in the Valle collection, almost all of which passed to the Villa Medici in 1584 (Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Inst.* vi. (1891), 224), are still in their old place. Hülsen assigns it to about 1580. It can hardly be previous to the death of Pius V. in 1572 (*Cap. Cat.* p. 12).

p. 364). The account of the relation of this enlarged collection of 100 plates to the original work is well given by Hübner (p. 39 *sq.*). For some reason the preparation of new plates was begun, but was only carried through as regards the first twenty-five[1]; the new plates are much worse than the old (compare Figs. 3, 4), and it may be as well that the remaining twenty-seven were retained and re-numbered.[2] Forty-eight other plates were added, and the whole collection thus brought up to 100.

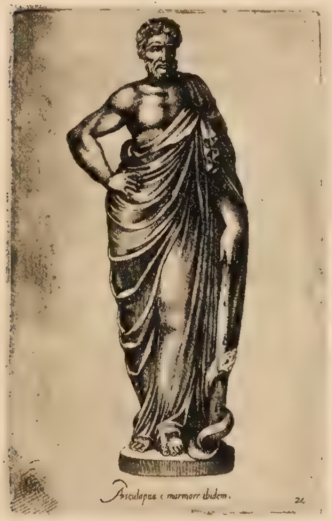

FIG. 3.—SPECIMEN OF THE ORIGINAL PLATES OF CAVALIERI (Table *a* (1), Col. I*a*, No. 20).
(*Size of original* 206×129 *mm.*)

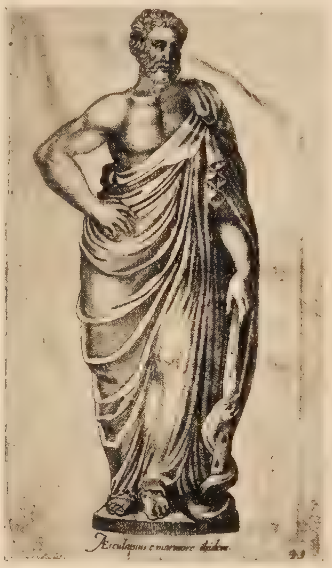

FIG. 4.—SPECIMEN OF THE RE-ENGRAVED PLATES OF CAVALIERI (Table *a* (1), Col. 1*b*, No. 39).
(*Size of original* 227×132 *mm.*)

(*b*) In the later edition the title-page bears at the bottom the additional line :—

ANNO DOMINI M.D.LXXXV.

the last four letters being very much crowded. No other change has been made (Fig. 5).

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[1] Nineteen of them were copies of the older plates, slightly enlarged ; while six others were from new drawings. The old plates, however, were not destroyed, but continued to exist (Hülsen, p. 272, cf. *infra.*, 129).

[2] They were slightly worked over (note the addition of the bowstring in No. 46).

3. ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE
TERTIVS ET QUARTVS
LIBER
PERILL. D. IACOBO PALVTIO
ALBERTONIO
VERE NOBILI ROMANO
DIC.
IO. BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AUTHORE
ROMAE CIↃ IↃ XCIIII.
Cum privilegio S. Pont. (Fig. 6)

This second collection of 100 entirely new plates[1] has a dedication, dated June 1st, 1593, to Giacomo Paluzzi Albertoni, who is referred to as the possessor of *museum pulcherrimis statuis, nummis, libris refertum*, and who was the owner of four pieces (Nos. 38, 43, 57, 95) which are figured in the collection. At the end of the seventeenth century a Paluzzo Albertoni married the Altieri heiress, the niece of Clement X., and took his wife's name (Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi*, i. 101); and No. 57 is still in the Palazzo Altieri.

The engravings are extremely bad, and fully deserve all Hübner's censures from the purely artistic point of view: but they have the merit

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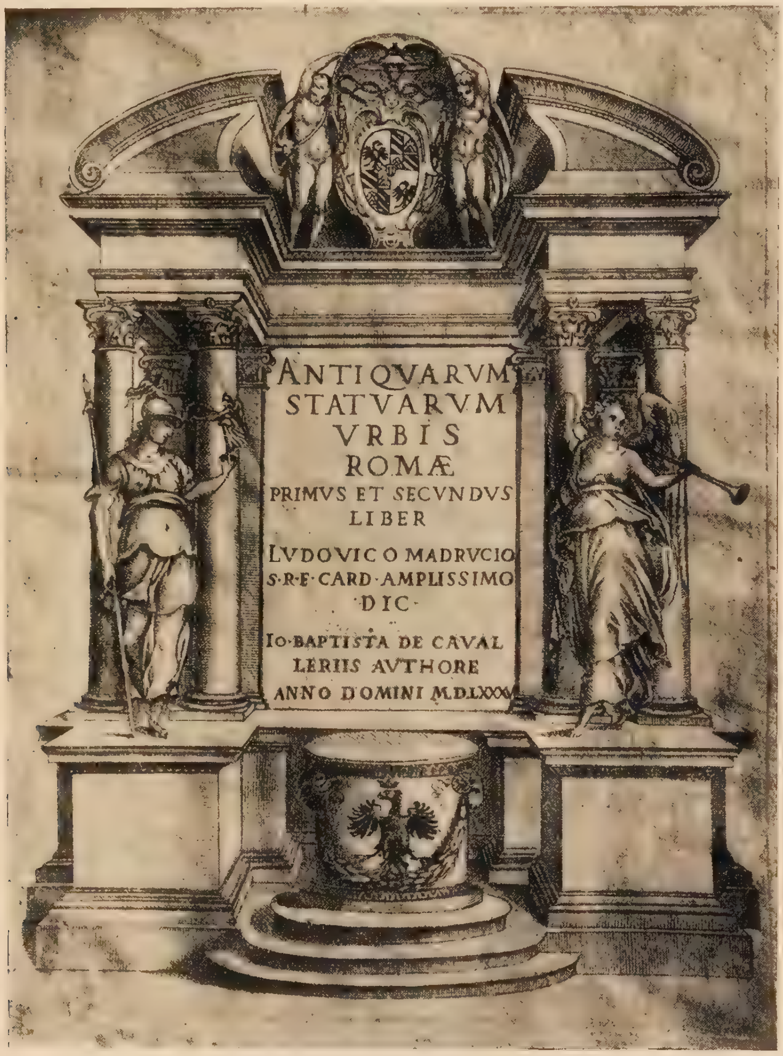
[1] The second collection is a good deal rarer than the first. Complete copies of both are to be found in the Vatican (Cicognara, v. 3492) at the Vittorio Emanuele library in Rome (*Coll. Rom.* 4, E. 35), in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (203, A 6)—both the last two copies have Dosio's views of Rome bound up with them—in the Topham Library at Eton College (B. i. 5, 36), and in my own collection.

On the back of Pl. 100 of Books iii. iv. of the Topham copy are printed the arms of Cavalieri (*supra*, 118; n. 1)

It is certain that the drawings for Books iii. iv. were, in part at least, made many years before they were published. Apart from Pl. 37, which is in the style of the first edition, we find that the Venus which was in the possession of Giovanni Antonio Dosio before his return to Florence about 1576 (see Hülsen in *Ausonia*, vii. (1912), 4) and which Vaccaria (Pl. 65) saw *apud quemdam mercatorem Florentinum* (cf. Table γ, 34) was drawn by or for Cavalieri (Pl. 70) before it had passed out of Dosio's hands, and indeed Hülsen (*Göttingsche gelehrte Anzeigen*, 1914, 272) notes that this plate appears (as it does in a copy in the Biblioteca Angelica—L.L. 21, 15—together with Pls. 3, 81) without a number, in several copies of the first two books. The statue is lost—nor do we know what happened to the Bacchus (Cav. iii. iv. 83) which was also in his possession. Further, two of the statues which passed, with the bulk of the Della Valle collection, to Villa Medici in 1584 were drawn for Books iii. iv., while they were still in Palazzo Valle (Pl. 27, 41: Michaelis of accuracy—we may note the remarks of Sieveking and Buschor[1] on



ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMÆ
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
LVDOVICO MADRVCIO
S·R·E·CARD·AMPLISSIMO
·DIC·
IO·BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AVTHORE
ANNO DOMINI M.DLXXX

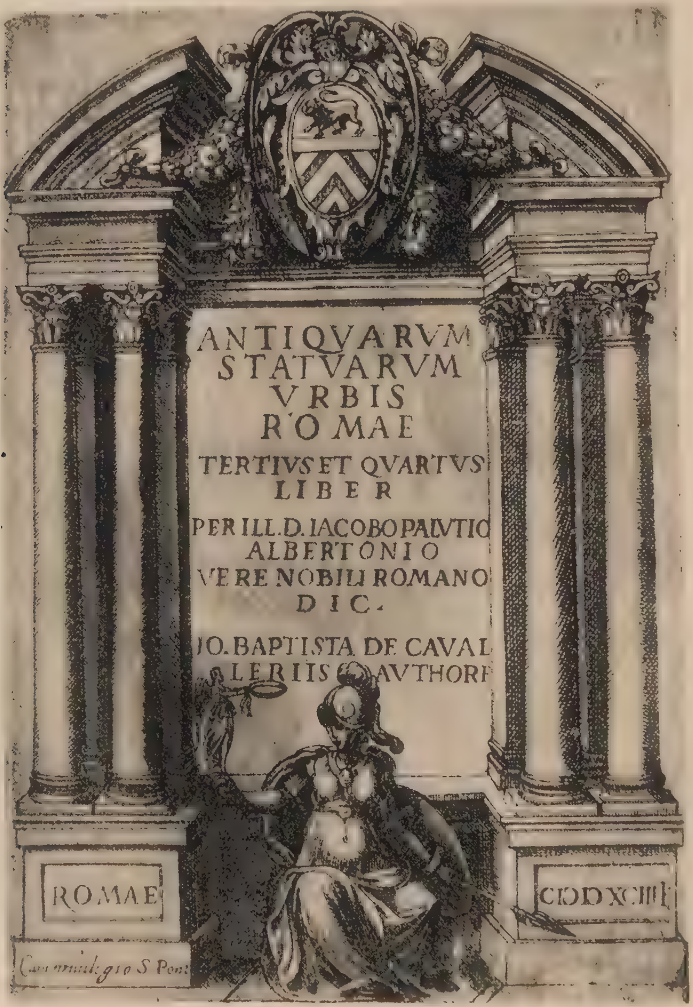
FIG. 5.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, EDITION I. 2 (*b*).
(*Size of original* 237×173 *mm.*)

Jahrbuch d. Inst. vi. 1891, 229, Nos. 22, 31). We may also note that Girolamo Garimberti, Bishop of Gallese, from whose collection Cavalieri drew a number of objects, died in 1575 (Eubel, *op. cit.* iii. 217, wrongly gives the date as 1565); though we do not know when his collection began to be dispersed. For the collection cf. Hülsen, *cit.* p. 298: also *Cose Meravigliose di Roma*, 1566, 45 (from which we learn that his house was at Monte Citorio).

[1] *Münchener Jahrbuch für bildende Kunst*, 1912, ii. 113.

the representations of the statues of Niobe and her children—and a good many statues are shown before the restorations, which are often erroneous, had been made. The majority of them are reversed (p. 150, n. 2).

It is worth noting that, while the statues in the first two books are arranged in groups corresponding to the collections in which they were preserved, those in the third and fourth books are arranged according



ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE
TERTIVS ET QVARTVS
LIBER
PER ILL. D. IACOBO PALVTIO
ALBERTONIO
VERE NOBILI ROMANO
DIC.
IO. BAPTISTA DE CAVAL
LERIIS AVTHORE

ROMAE
CIↃIↃXCIIII
Cum priuilegio S Pon:

FIG. 6.—TITLE-PAGE OF CAVALIERI, EDITION I. 3.
(*Size of original* 227×153 *mm.*)

to their subject: and here the name of the collection in which they were seems in many cases to have been added a little later (though probably by the same engraver) and begins with a capital letter—a good example is No. 71.

There are perhaps some forgeries among them, *e.g.*, Nos. 1, 4, etc., but Hübner (cf. Hülsen, *cit.* p. 298) is unduly suspicious of their genuineness as a whole, and has thus failed to make some identifications with actually existing statues (cf. Nos. 7, 72, 84).

II. *Vaccaria and Van Schaych.*

1. In 1584 Lorenzo della Vaccaria issued, probably for the first time, a collection with the following title:—

ANTIQVARVM STATVARVM
VRBIS ROMAE
quae in publicis priuatisque locis
visuntur
ICONES

Below is the following:—

ROMAE
Ex typis Laurentij
Vaccarij ad Signū
Palmae victricis
M.D.LXXXIIII

Lorenzo della Vaccaria (or Vaccheria) or Vaccari first appears as a publisher and printer of engravings in 1574, when he printed the first edition of the large plan of Rome as restored by Etienne Du Pérac.[1]

[1] See my *Topographical Study in Rome in* 1581 (Roxburghe Club, 1916), 19 *sqq.* The original edition is mentioned by De Nolhac, *La Bibliothèque de Fulvio Orsini*, 65, n. 3. According to him, it has, at the end of the dedication, the words *Excudebat Romae Laurentius della Vacherie.* The form of the name Vaccaria or Vaccari adopted in this dedication has led Ehrle, as it led me, to suppose him a Frenchman, but incorrectly.

Villamena, though his name remained on the plate in the edition of Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, died in 1626; and the date 1674, given to this edition by De Nolhac, is probably mistaken; for the two copies cited by Hülsen in his *Bibliografia delle Piante di Roma*, No. 58 (*Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria*, xxxviii. (1915), 1 *sqq.*, and separately) are not dated. De Nolhac, however, must have seen another copy of the six strips with the index, which Hülsen had only seen in my collection: for it is from them that the fact of the collaboration of Orsini in the preparation of the plan is to be learnt. There was a copy with five of these strips in the Destailleur sale of 1885 (No. 610).

Hülsen, on the other hand, is in error in not recognising that the original edition of the plan (*ibid.* No. 56) must have borne the name of Vaccaria, and not that of Francesco Villamena, who, according to the general account, was born at Assisi in or about 1566, though Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, i. No. 1390, gives the date of his birth as about 1556.

The latest limit of his activity of which I have any knowledge is not the work before us, as I had hitherto believed, but 1600.[1]

Whether this edition is really the first may be considered uncertain. As Hübner points out (p. 43) earlier dates appear on some of the plates (1577 on Nos. 41, 49: 1578 on No. 69: 1579 on No. 68—if, indeed, this plate should not rather be excluded from the original edition[2]): while those plates which represent statues which were formerly in the Della Valle collection as in the Villa Medici (Nos. 42, 45) must date actually from 1584, the year of their transference, although the drawings may have been made earlier.[3]

As will be seen from Column IV. of Table *β*, a considerable number of Vaccaria's plates were copied from the *Speculum* of Lafrèry (or, where

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Even if Nagler is right, he was only eighteen years old in 1574, and would hardly have been in the position to write under the dedication *Excudebat Romae Franciscus Villamoena*, which would make him out to be the printer or publisher. An examination made by Mr. Forsdyke of the only copy recorded of Villamena's edition (British Museum, 155, No. 7) shows this legend to be a later addition. It must be identical with that which figures in Vaccaria's catalogue (Hülsen, No. 57).

[1] In this year he published the plan of Rome by Maggi, with the little views of the Seven Churches round it (Hülsen, *op. cit.* No. 91): but he must have already admitted his son, Andrea, to partnership and have very soon died or given up business: for we find Andrea's name as early as 1599 (Bartsch, *Peintre-graveur*, xvii. 169, 1158) and again in 1600 (Ozzola in *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxiii. (1910), 405), 1603 (Hülsen, No. 98), and 1605 (on the title-page of a reprint of Part 2 of the *Venationes* of Antonio Tempesta, dedicated by him to Giovanni Antonio Orsini, Duke of Sangemini in 1598; the name of the original publisher is erased: the set of engravings is not recorded by Bartsch), besides the later dates given by Ehrle, *cit.* 59, who also gives a reprint of the catalogue of engravings published by Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccari in 1614, from the only known copy at Mantua.

[2] This is a plate representing an archer shooting downwards with a crossbow, and standing with his right foot in the space between the springing of two archivolts, one of which is represented as broken off at the extremity. Below is the inscription *Regij*. 1579. I have a copy of it without the lined background which was added to it when it took its place in the collection.

[3] The purchase of the Della Valle collection by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici took place on July 15th, 1584, and only a few pieces of sculpture remained in the possession of the Capranica family (Michaelis, *Jahrbuch d. Inst.* vi. (1891), 224). Vaccaria has not indicated in all cases those that were transferred (Nos. 67, 71), which he still mentions as "in aedibus Vallensibus") and, apart from one which actually bears a date anterior to 1584 (No. 69) which was in this collection, we may thus infer that the bulk of the drawings were made some years before the publication of this edition. This is further clear from the fact that No. 41, which bears the signature of Cherubino Alberti and the date 1577, also bears the legend *In Viridario Cardinalis de Medicis*, which must have been added later. There are indeed some extra proofs before letters of a few of the engravings in vol. 51–H–23 in the Gabinetto delle Stampe in Rome (Inv. 94888 *sqq.*) which also contains a copy of the 1621 edition, broken up and mounted: but I know of no title-page before that of 1584 which I have described in the text.

that was not available as a model, from the enlarged edition of the first part of Cavalieri's work),[1] and thus only thirty-three of them can be said to have independent value. The engravers (who were also probably the draughtsmen) of some of these plates are known to us by their signatures, Nos. 41, 49, 69, being the work of Cherubino Alberti,[2] and Nos. 12, 20, 29, of Orazio de Santis.[3] No. 65 bears on the handle of the vase the signature *Vit. f.*, which is probably that of Domenico Viti, a monk of Vallombrosa the period of whose activity runs from 1576 to 1586.[4]

Others were Francesco Villamena and Filippo Tommasini (p. 110, n. 2).

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[1] Hübner, who gives a table to indicate this, has failed to notice that none of Vaccaria's plates are copied from the first edition, but all (except No. 27, which is duplicated by No. 33, *infra*, p. 154, n. 7) from the enlarged edition (2 (*a*)), of Cavalieri, which, as Hülsen points out, is not without importance, as it affects the question of the dating of both collections. Though we cannot fix the date of the first appearance of the enlarged edition of Cavalieri, we might say that Vaccaria's work would hardly have been likely to have appeared immediately after it, unless the fact that a lined background has been introduced is sufficient to protect Vaccaria from a charge of infringing the copyright: for as Hülsen points out, Hübner, in trying to maintain that Vaccaria's engravings are superior in quality, has entirely failed to see that they are exact copies, agreeing in dimensions and outline, of Cavalieri's plates. The legends, which were added later, and not by the engravers themselves (I have been able to distinguish three or four different styles of calligraphy in them, and one of them is common to all the signed plates cited above, except 69) are also unintelligently copied, as mistakes in the Latin show (*e.g.* Plates 36, 80).

Hübner notes, rightly, that in five cases the names of the owners of the statues have been left out in the earlier editions, and only inserted later (Nos. 27, 28, 35, 46, 75): and I may add that in No. 31 the locality looks as if it had been inserted later, and possibly in a few other cases as well. No. 75 indeed did not pass into the Borghese collection until after 1605.

[2] They are noted by Meyer, *Künstlerlexikon*, i. p. 213, No. 188. Among a large quantity of drawings by Alberti, recently acquired by the Galleria Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome, are two drawings (Nos. 2, 96) which correspond in subject with Nos. 25, 2 of Vaccaria's collection: but the size differs, both the drawings being larger, while in the first the arms are unrestored, and the pose is not identically represented.

[3] For Orazio de Santis of Aquila see Bartsch, *op. cit.* xvii, 5, *sqq.* (who does not mention these engravings).

[4] Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii. 1292: *Künstlerlexikon*. xx. 438. Another of his works (Brulliot, ii. 2630) bears this signature at the bottom on the seat. He engraved several of the plates in the *Speculum*—the Arch of Constantine (Q. 80)—the reference is to the copy once in the possession of Mr. Quaritch (Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135 p. 119 *sqq.* No. 1530), and now in America—the Satyr and Dionysus at Naples (Q. 176) the Hercules and Telephus in the Museo Chiaramonti (Q. 225), the Diomede at Munich (Q. 227), and the Athamas and Lichas at Naples (Q. 229). The first impression of the Diomede (not mentioned by Quaritch, but in my collection, in a volume which came from the Seguier and Destailleurs collections, and contains a fairly early series of plates with nothing after 1581 in it, except at the very end) bears the signature *Do. Vitus fe.* (No. 76). The impression of the plate with the signature of Perret, cited by Hübner, p. 43 (Q. 227) is therefore the second, not the first, and cannot be used as evidence for dating Vaccaria's plates.

The number of plates in the original edition was in all probability seventy-three, including the title-page. We have seen that No. 68, though it has nothing to do with the subject of the collection, was provided with a lined background like the rest: and it may have been added to

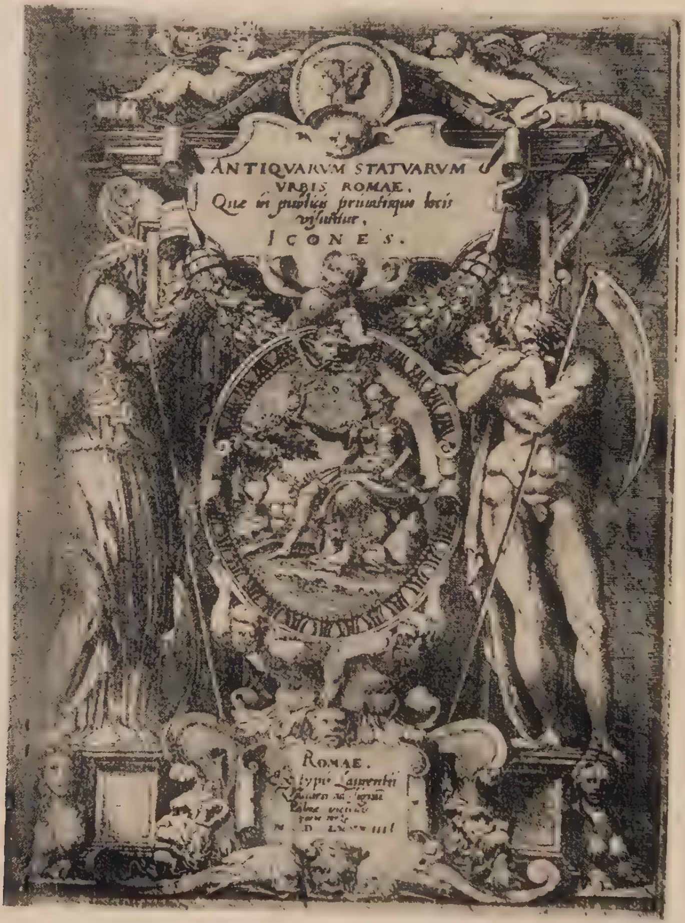

FIG. 7.—TITLE-PAGE OF VACCARIA, EDITION II. 2.
(*Size of original* 211 × 155 *mm.*)

them in order to make up an even number, so that the prints could be placed in pairs on an oblong page, and sold with Du Pérac's album.

The original arrangement of the plates cannot be recovered, as they were not numbered until 1621.[1]

2. The second edition formed the *parte terza* (these words having been added on the title-page above the date, which remained unchanged) of a collection in which the third edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi dell' Antichità di Roma* formed the *parte prima*, and the *Ornamenti di fabbriche antiche et moderni* the *parte seconda* [2] (Fig. 7). Here the plates are printed two on a page (Fig. 8), but, except for the fact that obvious pairs of

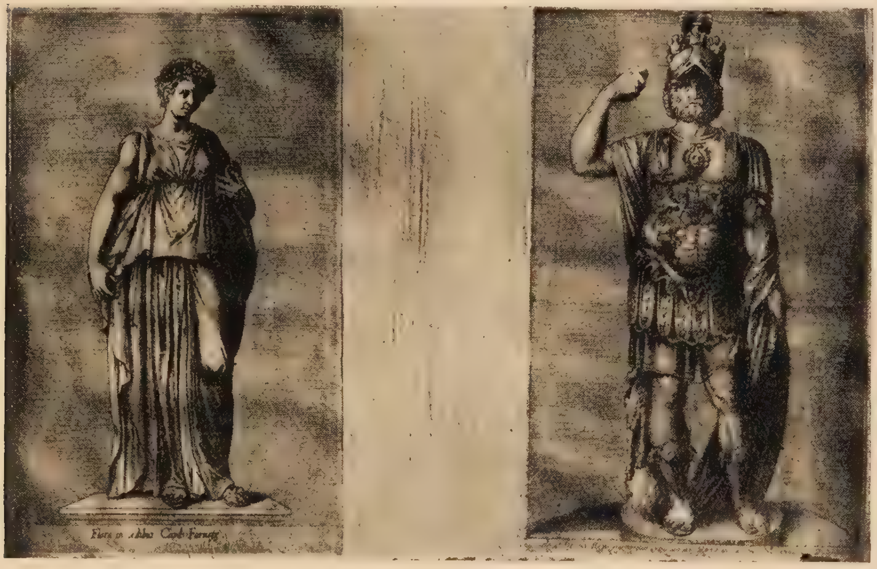

FIG. 8.—A SPECIMEN PAIR OF PLATES FROM VACCARIA, EDITION II. 2 (Table β, NOS. 27, 76). (*Size of originals* 222 × 132 *mm.*)

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[1] In the copies of which I have knowledge, the order seems to vary greatly, and there is no attempt at any system. For convenience I have therefore used the numbering of the 1621 edition even in speaking of those which preceded it.

I have examined a copy belonging to the bookseller Sig. Castagnari of Rome, containing sixty-two plates besides the title-page: none of the later plates were present, and Plates 27, 28, 46 were without the later indications of locality (Nos. 35, 75 were missing).

[2] See my article 'Le diverse edizioni dei *Vestigi dell'Antichità di Roma* di Stefano Du Pérac' in *Bibliofilia* xvi. (1915), 416. The hypothesis that this edition was published for the jubilee of 1600 is due to Michaelis (*Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898), 265, n. 83) and has been followed by others, including Hübner and Hülsen. I have a copy of the three parts in my own collection, and Hülsen (*Gött. gel. Anz., cit.* p. 275) mentions another, which like my own, is in an old binding, in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden (B, 819, 2), and there

plates (*e.g.*, the so-called Horsetamers and the "Trophies of Marius") are kept together, no particular order is observed. The number was made up to eighty, including the title-page, by the addition of No. 68 and of six plates from I. 3 (Books iii. iv. of Cavalieri, of which only one edition can be traced)—Nos. 5, 9, 14, 21, 34, 61.[1] The date of this issue cannot be earlier than the formation of the Borghese collection, as the Borghese faun (No. 75) which was previously in the Ceuli collection, had been already transferred: and the hypothesis that the volume was issued for the jubilee of 1600 must therefore be abandoned.

This is probably the edition issued by Andrea and Michelangelo Vaccari, and mentioned in their catalogue of 1614 as 'Vn libro di ottanta pezzi di statue diuerse di Roma delle più principali, intagliate da Cherubino Alberti, Filippo Tommasini et Villamena et altri diuersi valent' huomini' (Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 64, l. 502).

3. In 1621 the plates came into the possession of Goert van Schaych (Gottifredus de Schaichis) who altered the lower part of the title-page as follows:—

ROMAE
Ex typis
Gottifredi de Schaichis
ad signum Aquilae ni-
grae in Via Parionis
prope Eccles. S. Thomae
MDCXXI
Pars secunda

I do not know what the *pars prima* was—probably the *Ornamenti di Fabbriche Antiche et Moderni*, but certainly not, as Hülsen thinks, Du Pérac's *Vestigi*: for, in all the copies of this edition of which I have

---

was another in the Destailleur sale of 1885 (No. 630). Other copies of this edition seem to have been issued with only one plate printed on a page, and with the words *parte terza* sometimes erased: there is one in the British Museum (786, K. 48) with the words left in containing sixty-one plates (wrongly entered in the catalogue as "mostly Cavalieri") of which Nos. 3, 52, 56 are before all letters. It was acquired in June, 1905, and was formerly in the library of the late Anton Springer. I have another containing sixty-three plates besides the title (with the words erased) including No. 68 and the plates from Cavalieri: and there is another in the University Library at Göttingen with title and sixty-four plates.

[1] They are Nos. 5, 44, 43, 34, 26, 63 of the 1621 edition. Hülsen has failed to notice, as Hübner also did, that No. 26 is Cavalieri, iii. iv. 34, and his hypothesis that these plates were added to make up an even number, fails.

knowledge[1] the plates are printed one on a page, so that the two works could not have been, as in the previous edition, bound together.

Van Schaych arranged the plates in a logical order, according to the collections in which the statues were preserved, though he was careless enough to reverse the correct order of the two plates of the "Trophies of Marius," and to introduce two illustrations of the same statue (Nos. 27, 33).

No later edition of the work is known, and the plates cannot now be found. Van Schaych's activity cannot be traced before 1618 nor after 1630: but while the plates of Du Pérac passed into the hands of Giambattista de Rossi of Piazza Navona, who published another edition of the *Vestigi* in 1639, the plates of Vaccaria's work were either lost, or not considered worth reproducing (see below III. A. 3).

III. *Publications based mainly on Cavalieri.*

The fate of Cavalieri's plates, on the other hand, is a curious and complicated one, and throws a good deal of light on the condition of the trade in engravings in Rome in the seventeenth century.

The first appearance of any of the plates is in the hands of Nicolas Van Aelst (d. 1613) who published a collection of 100 engravings, not including the title-page (III. B. 1): it contained all (twenty-eight) the original plates made for the first edition (I. 1 (*a*)) which had subsequently been discarded by Cavalieri himself, including three plates (Table γ, 16, 29, 30) which do not occur in I. 1, *b–e*, and most of those which had been retained in use, in the later issue of Books i. ii. (I. 2 (*a*)). In addition, he acquired a number of other plates (forty in all) which had been published in that issue, differing in most cases in subject from those just mentioned[2]: and he came into possession of, or had engraved, a number of additional engravings (thirty-two in all) (see Table γ[1]) in order to make up the deficiencies in his collection, in which the Vatican was entirely unrepresented, including several copies after Vaccaria. See figs. 9–12.

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[1] There is a copy in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (51, H. 23—Inv, 94888–94983), another in the Vatican (Cicognara, v. 3477), another in the Topham Library at Eton (B. i. 5, 38), a fourth at the British Museum (561 * *b.* 12 (1) cf. Hübner, p. 44), with odd prints from Cavalieri; while a fifth was in the possession of the bookseller Sig. Luzzietti of Rome (Catalogue 247, No. 236). The Vatican copy has an impression of No. 80 (Pasquino) with a number of legends—one beginning *Io non son*, cf. Q. 219), and a cardinal's hat with the Orsini arms. The cardinal must be either Alessandro Orsini (created 1615, died 1626—Mas-Latrie, Col. 1226, No. 40), or Virginio Orsini (created 1641, died 1676, *ib.* Col. 1229, No. 56).

[2] I do not know whether we should add iii. iv. No. 43, which is found in Hauser's copy. As Van Aelst had no more of Books iii. iv., and it does not appear later, I think it may have found its way in accidentally.

The remainder of the plates of Books i. ii. (sixty-five in number) and all those of Books iii. iv. except seven[2] making 158 in all, do not appear until 1623, when the bulk of them were published by Giacomo Marcucci (III. A. 1). There is no doubt that this division was due to the will of Cavalieri, which has not yet been published nor, so far as I know, even found.

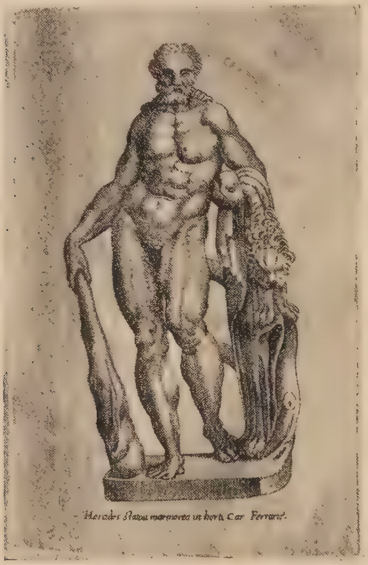
Hercules statua marmorea in hort. Car. Ferrarii.

FIG. 9.—TABLE γ 2.
(*Size of original* 195 × 123 *mm.*)

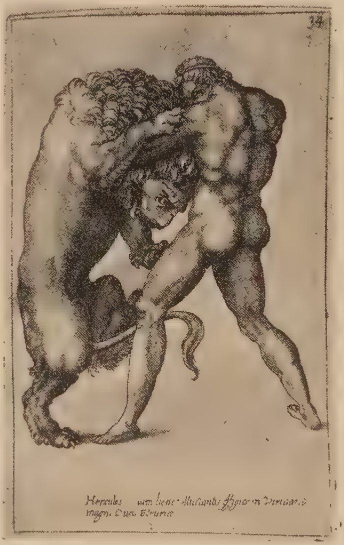

FIG. 10.—TABLE γ 3.
(*Size of original* 199 × 122 *mm.*)

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[1] Nos. 2, 4, 5, 10, 15, 17, 25, 26, 27, 34 (?) (besides 16, 29, 30, which belong to Cav. i.) are all earlier plates: while those which pourtray statues in the Villa Borghese must date from after 1608 or thereabouts.

Of Books iii. iv. eighty-six plates are to be found in the possession of Marcucci, six, as we have seen, passed to Vaccaria, one (perhaps) to Van Aelst (No. 43), two (Nos. 8, 65) appear only in the 1668 edition, and five are lost (Nos. 15, 31, 58, 77, 86). For the details, see the Tables.

[2] Marcucci used fifty-one of the plates of Books i. ii.; of these Nos. 51, 52, 55–59, 89, 90, 92 (these three last we also find in Van Aelst's possession), belonged to the original edition of Cavalieri: 85, 87, 96, 99, and 100 were also used by Van Aelst as well as by Marcucci. Of the remaining fourteen plates of Books i. ii., twelve were suppressed as duplicates of the original plates, and two cannot be traced (Nos. 13, 76). Nos. 18, 93 were not used until 1645.

In 1650 or thereabouts, Giovanni Battista De Rossi, the successor of Marcucci, published a much smaller collection, which was reissued in 1668 (III. A. 3, 4). In the last only fifteen plates from Books i. ii. were retained, and fifty-five from Books iii. iv., all of which have since been lost.

The balance of the plates which had been in Marcucci's possession passed instead to Giovanni Domenico De Rossi, who, in 1645, issued a collection of 140 plates, including two title-pages. This included eighteen plates from Books i. ii. and thirty-two from iii. iv. from Marcucci's stock, no further use being made of the rest. It is this collection which is still preserved in the Regia Calcografia (III. B. 3–5).

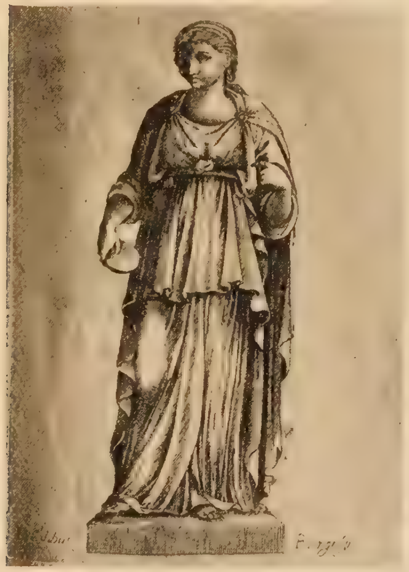


FIG. 11.—TABLE γ 23.
(*Size of original* 204 × 138 *mm.*)

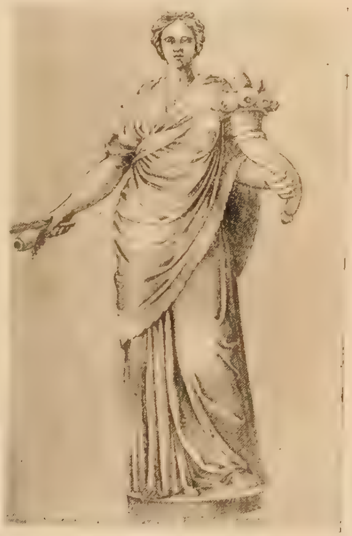
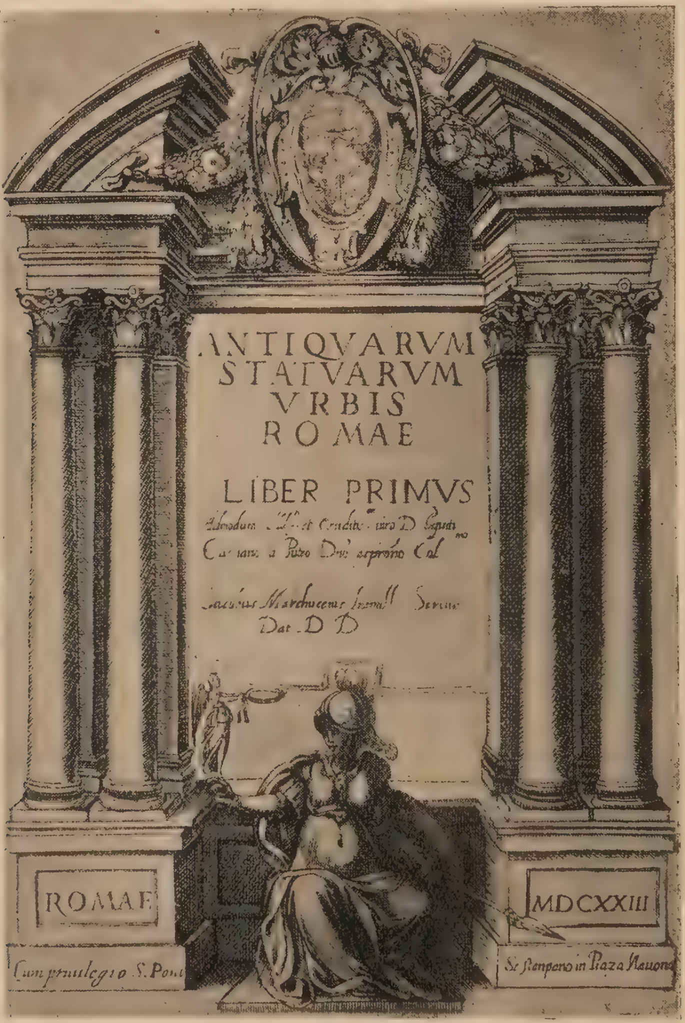


FIG. 12.—TABLE γ 25.
(*Size of original* 204 × 120 *mm.*)

We may now proceed to study the various editions somewhat more in detail, taking first those which contain plates which have been lost, and afterwards those which have survived up to the present day.

III. A. 1. In 1623 Giacomo Marcucci published a collection of 140 plates, including three title-pages. There are two copies of it known to me—one in the library of the German Archaeological Institute in Rome, and the other in the Biblioteca Angelica (KK. 1, 16) to which it was left by the learned Lucas Holste (d. 1651).



ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE

LIBER PRIMVS

ROMAE

MDCXXIII

Cum priuilegio S. Pont

Si stenpano in Piaza Nauona

FIG. 13.—TITLE-PAGE OF MARCUCCI.
Book I (Edition III. A. 1). (*Size of original, 227×153 mm.*)

The plate used for the title-page of all the three books into which it is divided is that which served for Books iii. iv. of Cavalieri's collection :

but the arms at the top have been cut out, and so has all the legend after *Romae*, leaving two spaces which were filled in different ways in each case, by the use of movable labels. On the bases which support the pairs of columns on each side the following legend has been inserted :—

ROMAE MDCXXIII
Cum priuilegio S. Pont. *Se stampano in Piaza Nauona.*

The first book was dedicated to Cassiano dal Pozzo, and the following legend was added :

LIBER PRIMVS
Admodum Ill^{mo}, et Eruditis^{mo} viro
D. Equiti Cassiano a Puteo Dno. ac prono Col^{mo}.
Jacobus Marchuccius humill. servus
Dat. D.D.

In the German Institute copy the arms of Cassiano dal Pozzo have been inserted (the reproduction (Fig. 13) is from *Papers*, vi. p. 187) : while in the Biblioteca Angelica copy the space is left blank.

The second book was dedicated to Giovanni Battista Soria[1] and the following added :—

LIBER SECVNDVS
Al^{re} Illre Sig^{re} et Pron. mio Osser^{mo}. Il
Sig^{re} Gio. Batista Soria
Jacomo Marchucci Vmillissimo seruitore
Dat. D. D.

The arms of Marcucci himself have been added in the space above : they are : a fess charged with two stars between a cup in chief and a wheel in base.[2] They occur on the title-page of a rare collection of views of Rome, also dedicated to Soria, entitled *GRANDEZZE DELLA CITTA DI ROMA . . . . . . disegniate et intagliate da Iacomo Crulli de Marcucci et dallo stesso dato in luce l'an̄* 1625 (it was reprinted in four languages in 1628: see Catalogue 269, No. 253 of the bookseller Luzzietti of Rome).

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[1] Giovanni Battista Soria (1581–1651) was an architect of some merit, and was responsible for the façades of S. Maria della Vittoria, S. Gregorio, and S. Carlo ai Catenari in Rome. In 1624–36 he published four books of engravings after the architectural drawings of Giambattista Montano, who died in 1621 ; they were at that time in the library of Cassiano dal Pozzo, and are now in the Soane Museum. The work was originally intended to have been in seven books : and a reissue of it, published by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi in 1684–1691, was somewhat enlarged, the book of sixty-six Tempietti (mostly ancient tombs) having been divided into two books of forty-eight plates each not including the title-page : while the other books remained as they were. I hope to give some account of this interesting collection on another occasion.

[2] In the catalogue (*Katalog der Bibliothek*, i. p. 1246) it is stated that the name of J. B. De Rossi occurs on the title-page, but this is not in accordance with my notes.

The third book bears the following dedication:—

LIBER TERTIVS
Perill^{ri} *Admodm̄ DD. Francisco Gualdo*
S. Stefani Equiti . Leonis . XI. Intmo.
Cubit^{rio} *. Pauli . V. et Gregori . XV. et*
Vrbani . VIII. Familiari
Vmilissimo Seruo
Jacomo Marchucci . Dat . D . D.

The arms of Gualdo himself are given in the space above: they are—a fess charged with the cross of S. Stephen lengthwise between an eagle in chief and a lion rampant in base.

The first two books which have a continuous numbering from 1 to 100[1] contain for the most part plates from the third and fourth books of Cavalieri's collection, of which, as we have seen, the bulk passed into Marcucci's hands. The third book, on the other hand, is made up except for one plate (the last) of plates from Books i. ii. which have been renumbered to fit into their places, from 2 to 39.

III. A. 2. There is another copy of Marcucci in Berlin, in two books containing 100 plates including the two title-pages, which has been collated by Prof. Hülsen. The title-page of the first book is identical with that just described, but though the dedication to Cassiano dal Pozzo remains, the arms of Marcucci have been substituted.

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[1] The plates for the most part retain their original numbering: but the blanks have been filled up by the introduction of thirteen plates from Books i. ii. of which some have been renumbered, while others retain their old numbers. The title-pages are reckoned as Nos. 1 and 51 respectively in the Biblioteca Angelica copy: there are two plates (iii. iv. 2, 29) both bearing the number 2, but No. 29 should probably be regarded as No. 5 (indeed in the German Institute copy it is so numbered). In both the copies we are describing iii. iv. 1 figures as No. 8: but it should be noticed that in the Biblioteca Angelica copy a leaf has been cut out after it, and that iii. iv. 8 with its original number figures in the 1668 edition. No. 65 also occurs only in the 1668 edition.

In Column V. of Table *a* the plates which belong to the first two books are distinguished by an *a* preceding the number, and those belonging to the third book by a *b*.

There is a fragmentary copy of this edition, with the first two books complete, but only a few plates of the third and only one title-page, without any dedication or arms inserted, in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe in Rome (26, L. 8: Inv. 03238–03347).

This edition represents a slightly later stage, inasmuch as the transferences of certain statues to Villa Borghese (which had occurred some years before) have been noted on the plates.[1] The numbers, too, have been removed.

3. Another edition also preserved in the Library of the German Institute in Rome (*Katalog*, *cit.*) had a title-page adapted from that of Books i. ii. of Cavalieri's collection and fifty-seven plates unnumbered, most of them from Books iii. iv.[2] The title-page is as above, and the title runs as follows :—

ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMAE
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
All' Illus^{mo} . et Rever^{mo}.
Il Sigr . Conte Francesco Calcagni
Umilissmo Ser^{re} Iacomo Marcucci Dona Dedica.

The last line has been partially erased, and in its place the following has been inserted :—

Dona Dedica Gio. Batt. Rossi in
Piazzo Navona.

The plates, as is natural, show the alterations noted in note [1].

The exact date of this edition cannot be determined, though it must be earlier than 1668. Giovanni Battista de Rossi of Milan, who appears as the successor of Marcucci in Piazza Navona, was probably the son of Giuseppe Rossi (*infra*, 139). His first-known publication is the fifth edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi*[3] (1639) : the second edition of Du Pérac's

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[1] The numbers are as follows : Cav. i. ii. 22 (wrongly), iii. iv. 23, 24 (wrongly), 25, 54, 69, 73, 75, 79, 88.

[2] A copy in the possession of Prof. R. Lanciani had fifty plates (including title), printed two on a page and bound with Giovanni Battista de Rossi's 1653 edition of Du Pérac's *Vestigi* and other works, the latest being a plate relating to the conclave of 1655.

[3] For this edition see my article in *Bibliofilia* cited p. 127, n. 2 : the edition of 1680 is described, *ibid.* xvii (1915–6), 358.

Bird's-eye View of Rome (1640) originally brought out in 1577 (Ehrle, *op. cit.* p. 25) comes next. In the same year he published a reissue of Dosio's album of views of Rome (*supra*, 113).[1] He published other editions (the sixth, seventh and eighth) of the *Vestigi* in 1653, 1671, and 1680, after which we have no further evidence of his activity: and in the same year we meet with the name of his son, Matteo Gregorio, as a publisher for the first time.[2]

4. In 1668 another edition appeared, with the title as before, but the words *Vltima Impressione Anno* 1668 substituted for *Dona Dedica* (Fig. 14). A copy of it lent me by the late Prof. Hauser contained fifty-six plates (including the title) printed two on a page without numbers, all of them but three being taken from Cavalieri, Books iii. iv. There is another in the British Museum (559* B. 39 (1)) following the *Collectio XLIX. Statuarum* (a collection of eighteen oblong folio plates, on which are forty-nine statues, one of which, the Farnese Bull, bears date 1641, and the address of Giambattista de Rossi) containing sixty-four plates from Cavalieri, Books iii. iv.; and there is a third copy in the Kupferstichkabinett at Dresden (A. 815 n. 3), with title and sixty-five plates, also unnumbered. Their contents vary, so that 70 plates are accounted for.

None of these plates have been preserved: and they were indeed only about half of what Marcucci had had. The rest passed, under what circumstances we do not know, to the other branch of the De Rossi family, whose shop was near S. Maria della Pace: and we shall see that a good number of them are still in existence.

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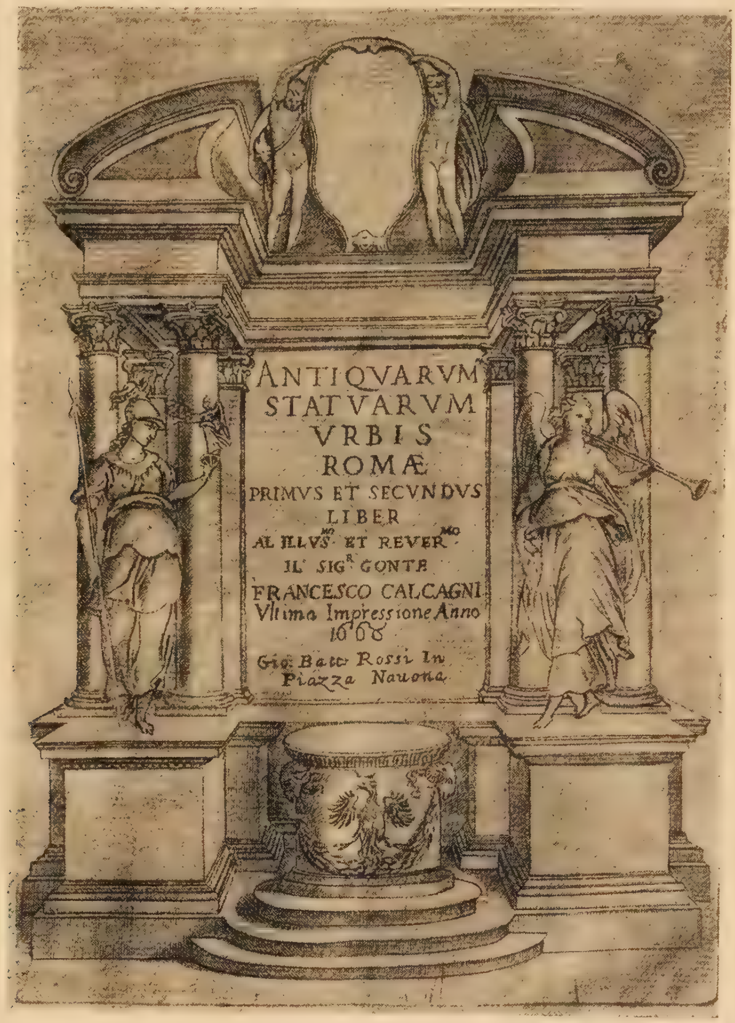
[1] Lang, Catalogo x. No. 39, cited by Ozzola, *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, xxxiii. (1910), 400.

[2] Matteo Gregorio seems to have been the publisher of the internal elevation of S. Peter's which Ehrle (*op. cit.* p. 23, n. 5) mentions as "Fatta misurare da M.G.R. 1682," though he does not consider his first work to come before 1686 (the edition of the *Nuovo Splendore delle Fabriche di Roma Moderna*, which is simply a copy of the 1667 edition published by Giovanni Giacomo De Rossi, the plates being by far inferior). Ehrle has, however, omitted to notice the plan of 1668 (Hülsen, *Arch. Soc. Rom. cit*, Nos. 128, 129) which was drawn and engraved by Matteo Gregorio and published by his father, and was then republished by Matteo himself in 1680; and he has also omitted the *Prospectus locorum Urbis Romae insig(nium) Inventore Mattaeo Gregorio de Rubeis Romano delineati et aere incisi a Livinio Cruyl Gandavensi; Liber Primus*, published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1666 (cf. German Institute Library, *Katalog*, i. 617). Matteo Gregorio's name has been inserted at a later date over an erasure on the title-page of the *Raccolta delle Principali Fontane dell' Inclita Città di Roma desegnate et intagliate da Domenico Parasacchi*, published by Giovanni Battista de Rossi in 1647. Nor does he mention Giuseppe Giulio Rossi, who must have been the heir of Matteo Gregorio (of whom we hear no more after 1696) who published the ninth edition of the *Vestigi* in his shop in Piazza Navona in 1709.

But we must first return to the edition of Nicolas Van Aelst.

III. B. 1. Nicolas Van Aelst of Brussels (Ehrle, p. 21) was one of the most active publishers of engravings of the end of the sixteenth century, and besides a number of older plates that came into his hands (including some plates of the *Speculum* of Lafrèry) he engraved a number of new ones, especially during the reign of Sixtus V. His first publication



ANTIQVARVM
STATVARVM
VRBIS
ROMÆ
PRIMVS ET SECVNDVS
LIBER
AL ILLVS^{MO} ET REVER^{MO}
IL' SIG^{R} CONTE
FRANCESCO CALCAGNI
Vltima Impressione Anno
1668
Gio: Batta Rossi In
Piazza Nauona

FIG. 14.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION III. A. 4.
(*Size of original* 237×173 *mm.*)

was not the plan of Rome which Ehrle wrongly attributes to 1583[1] (on p. 24 he gives the date 1582 for the commencement of his activity, but without evidence) but the engraving which he cites as published in 1584. No print of his after 1605 is known. According to Nagler (*Monogrammisten*, iv. 2563) he was born in 1526, and Ehrle publishes an extract from the parish register of SS. Maria e Gregorio in Vallicella (Chiesa Nuova) to show that he died in 1613. His shop was near S. Maria della Pace, in a house belonging to S. Maria dell'Anima. At some date not before 1605[2] he published the collection of which we have spoken above (p. 129) under the title :—

INSIGNIORES STATVARVM
VRBIS ROMAE ICONES
ANTIQ̃VITATIS
STVDIOSIS
et virtutis amantibus
Nicolaus van Aelst
Bruxellensis propensa
voluntatis sua ergo
Dedicat, et donat,
Romae, superiorū permissu

The late Prof. Hauser lent me a copy of this edition containing ninety-four plates, including the two title-pages, and I recently acquired one myself (at the Pembroke sale at Sotheby's in March, 1920, Lot 69) which contains 100 plates, including the title-page.[3] The plate described as No. 24 of Table γ occurs at the end of this copy, and does not seem to have become the title-page of the second book until the enlargement of the collection in 1645: while No. 36 is absent from it. As, however, this plate occurs both in Prof. Hauser's copy and in my copy of the 1619 edition, I have assumed that it formed part of a complete copy, which I have therefore supposed to consist of 100 plates, not including the title-page. They are enumerated in Table *a*, col. VII. and in Table γ.

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[1] This plan was first published in 1590, and again in 1593 (Hülsen, Nos. 62–64) and 1597. The British Museum Catalogue of Maps is responsible for the error, the date being wrongly printed as 1583 (II. 3547) and the reference should be 23805(9) as Mr. Forsdyke informs me.

[2] The *terminus post quem* is fixed by the fact that items belonging to the collection formed by Scipione Borghese (who became cardinal in that year) are included (Nos. 8, 23, 28, 33 in Table γ).

[3] It includes both versions of the Farnese Flora (Cav. i. 12, i. ii. 33) which indeed are still in the Calcografia collection (Nos. 120, 109), and of the "horse-tamers" on the Quirinal.

2. A second edition was published in 1619, the address (lines 7–end) being altered to the following:

Ioseph de Rubaeis Mediols.
Formis Romae Anno
Domini M.DC. XIX.

I possess a copy of this edition without the title-page, and with three extraneous plates inserted, bound at the end of a volume containing the two books of Giovanni Maggi's *Aedificia et Ruinae Romae* and the *Fontane Diverse che si vedano nel Alma Città di Roma*, both published by Giuseppe de Rossi in 1618. The other copies of the 1619 edition which I have seen are less complete, and the plates are in all cases unnumbered.[1] Giuseppe Rossi (or De Rossi) *junior* appears as the successor of Van Aelst on prints after Tempesta[2]: and this argues the existence of a Giuseppe de Rossi *senior*, who must have been the founder of the business. There is, however, so far as I know, no print bearing his name in existence, and he is entirely unknown to Ehrle and to Ozzola. We first meet with Giuseppe De Rossi *junior* on the title-page of an edition of Tempesta's *Venationes*, dated 1605 (the original edition bore the name of Giovanni Orlandi, and the date 1602).[3] This agrees with the evidence given by him in a trial of a case between Giacomo Lauro and Francesco de' Paoli in 1635, in which he is described as a native of Gallaia[4] in the State of Milan: he stated that his shop was opposite S. Biagio alla Pace (which tallies with the description of the situation of Van Aelst's shop) and that he had known Lauro for over thirty years. Documents in the archives of S. Maria dell'Anima enable us to fix the precise position of the house at the corner of the Via della Pace and the Via Tor Millina, and also the year of his death (1639).

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[1] There is a copy with eighty-five plates in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples (203, B. 24) another in the Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe at Rome with title and eighty-three plates (51, H. 24: Inv. 194986–195069) among which is Cav. i. ii. 8. Another, with sixty plates, is at Eton (Topham Library, B. i. V. 37) and a fourth, with title and forty-nine plates, in the library of the American Academy in Rome.

[2] Bartsch. xvii. 170, 1165; 171, 1169 (both undated).

[3] Bartsch *cit.* 165, 1075–1104: the name *Apud Joseph de Rubeis* has been added on the left below in place of *Ioannes Orlandi formis; Romae* remains, and the date has been altered. In Bartsch *cit.* 159, 861 I should suspect (without having seen it) that his name had been added later also, as it bears date 1598. Ozzola (*op. cit.* p. 406, n. 30) is not able to quote any print of his earlier than 1615 and noted one of 1636 (Bartsch, xx. 173. 8) which bears a dedication to Cassiano dal Pozzo. It is by Andrea Podestà, after a picture of Venus surrounded by Cupids, painted by Titian for the Duke of Ferrara.

[4] Gallia (as it is now spelt) is a small village S.S.E. of Lomello, near the Po.

3. As we have seen, the next edition of this collection was considerably enlarged by the addition of forty-five more plates from Marcucci's stock (for of the fifty plates which came from Marcucci to Giovanni Domenico de Rossi (*supra*, p. 131) five had been used by Van Aelst also): on the other hand, two plates from Cavalieri i. ii., and five of those which had been added by Van Aelst were omitted.[1] The plates of the original edition of Cavalieri were as a rule preferred to the later ones (an exception is formed by i. ii. 28). The title of the first book was altered as follows (lines 7–end).

Ioannes Dominicus de Rubeis
Formis Romae Anno
Domini M. D. C. XXXXV. (Fig. 15)

while the second received the following legend:—

LIBER SECVNDVS STATVARVM ROMÆ
Apud Joannes Dominicus de Rubeis
ad Pacem formis
Romæ 1645 (Fig. 16.)

Of the two copies known, one is in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Fb. 17, No. 793) and the other in the collection of Prof. Hülsen. The contents are given in Col. VIII. of Table *a* below. They are unnumbered, except for a few exceptions noted in the table, where older numbers, which have no reference to their actual order (which indeed differs considerably in the two copies) still remain. Giandomenico de Rossi, whom Ehrle does not mention, fills up the gap between Giuseppe and Giangiacomo de Rossi in his table (p. 24). Ozzola cites two engravings which bear his name, one of 1640, the other of 1655: he considers him to have been the brother of the former and the uncle or father of the latter.[2] But, as we find that the heirs of Giuseppe de Rossi continued to pay the rent of the shop until 1659, and that Giangiacomo's name only appears in this connexion in

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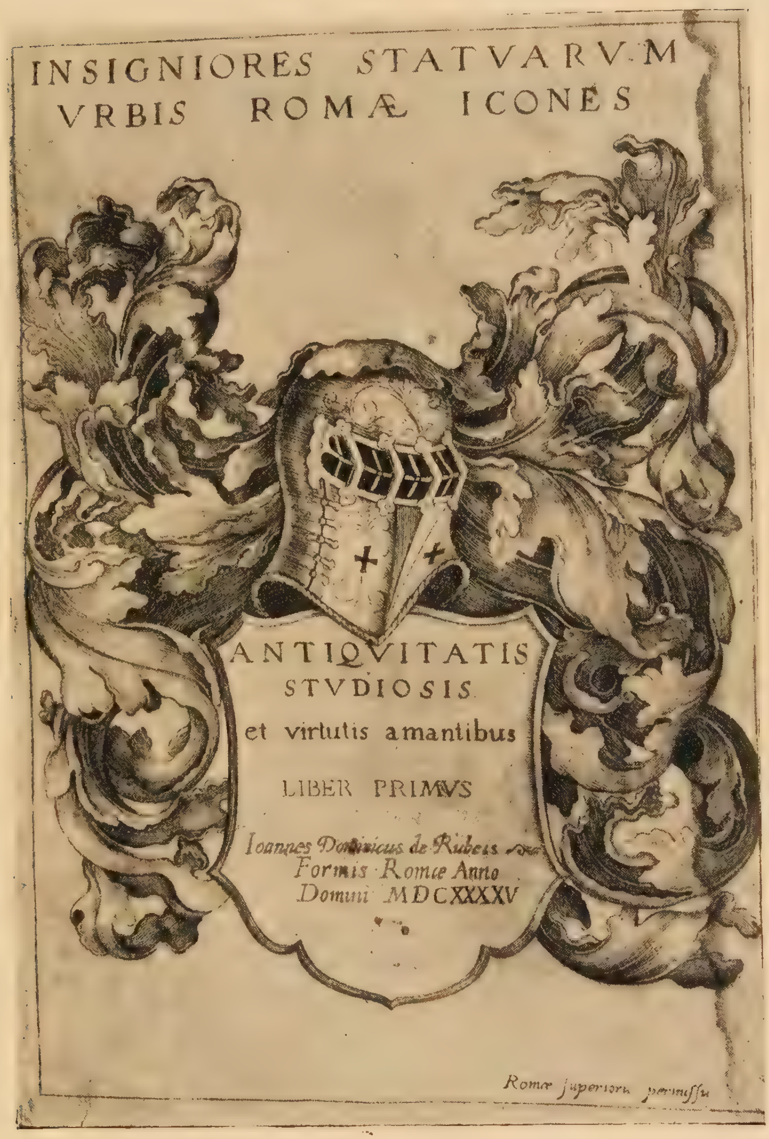
[1] Of the two copies known to me, one lacks Cav. i. ii. 87, which is in the Calcografia collection: and both lack i. ii. 96, which does not occur again. Two representations of the same statue were twice included (Cavalieri i. 4 and i. ii. 24; and *ibid.* i. 12, and i. ii. 33).

[2] P. 407, n. 35. Zani, *Enciclopedia*, xvi. 216, says that he was living in 1660.



INSIGNIORES STATVARVM
VRBIS ROMÆ ICONES

ANTIQVITATIS
STVDIOSIS
et virtutis amantibus

LIBER PRIMVS

Ioannes Dominicus de Rubeis
Formis Romæ Anno
Domini MDCXXXXV

Romæ ſuperioru permiſſu

FIG. 15.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION B. 3, BOOK I.
(*Size of original* 205×142 *mm.*)

1660, it is more likely that he was the son of Giuseppe and the brother and co-heir of Giangiacomo.

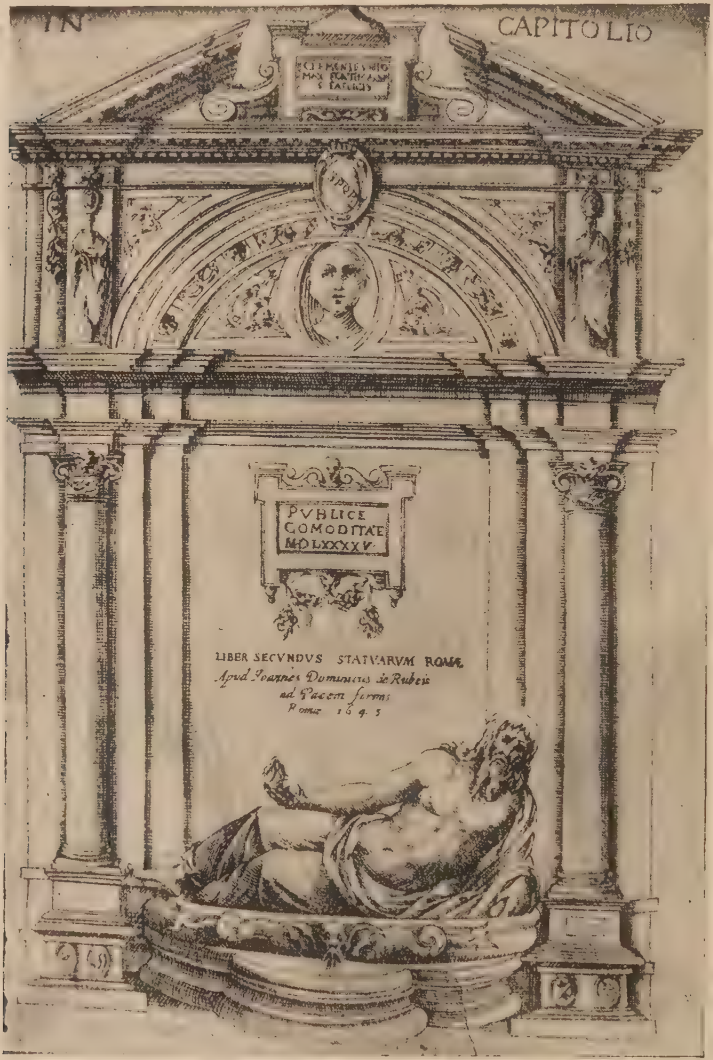

IN CAPITOLIO
PVBLICE
COMODITATE
MDLXXXXV
LIBER SECVNDVS STATVARVM ROMÆ
Apud Ioannes Dominicus de Rubeis
ad Pacem formis
Romæ 1645

FIG. 16.—TITLE-PAGE OF EDITION B. 3, BOOK II.
(*Size of original* 232×165 *mm.*)

4. The next edition was issued by Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi, the most important member of the family, whose career lasted at least from

1648, when he published the third edition of Tempesta's large plan of Rome (Hülsen, No. 86) until 1692 (Ehrle, 68).[1]

[1] This was very likely one of his first publications, for it is noteworthy that the dedication bears the name of Giandomenico. Ozzola is certainly wrong in attributing to him the first edition of Perrier's *Icones et Segmenta* (1638), for there are plenty of copies in existence without his imprint which is the sign of a later edition. He also cites a variety of Bartsch, xx. 173, 7 (a Bacchanalian scene by Andrea Podestà after Titian) which bears his name and the date 1640 (Dresden, Ital. Sch. 334 : 39702) : I should like to be sure that the two are contemporary, as the next date he cites is 1651.

It is probable that Giovanni Antonio de Rossi, the architect of the conclave of 1676, was some relation of his, for the former dedicated to Cardinal Altieri a plan engraved by Giovanni Battista Falda, which he printed and published. As to the date of his death or retirement from business, we may note that the last engraving which bears his name is a print of the Conclave of 1691 (Ehrle, p. 22) ; and in 1693 Domenico was already (for example, on Ameti's map of Latium) calling himself son and heir of Giangiacomo, who must certainly have retired from business—and indeed one would have supposed that he was dead, had it not been for the entry, in the books of S. Maria dell' Anima, of a payment for rent of the shop by him in 1694. Taking into consideration, however, the fact that Domenico's name remained on the books as late as 1738, whereas we know that he died in 1724, it is clear that the books were kept so carelessly that we may disregard this entry.

Domenico was apparently the first of the family to issue a printed catalogue of his publications. The earliest edition known to Ehrle bears date 1705 : but I possess one of 1700, the title of which is as follows : INDICE DELLE STAMPE Intagliate in Rame, al bulino ed all'acqua forte, con li loro prezzi secondo corrono al presente. *Esistente nella Stamperia* DI GIO. GIACOMO DE ROSSI, E DOMENICO DE ROSSI suo Erede appresso S. Maria della Pace. Nel quale si comprendono. *Carte Geografiche, Città, Assedii diversi, Piante, Alzate, e Prospetto di Roma Antica, e Moderna con varie Vedute di essa, Chiese, Altari, Palazzi, Giardini, Statue, Bassi rilievi, Gulie, Colonne, con le Fontane dentro, e fuori nelle Ville di Frascati, e di Tivoli, ed altri monumenti, Ornamenti di Architectura, ed Opere de' piu celebri Pittori, Galerie, Cupole, ed altre de' piu insigni Artefici, Ritratti de' Sommi Pontefici, Imperatori, Rè di Francia, e di Spagna, e gran Signori Turchi, e delli Rè di Polonia, con le loro Cronologie, Ritratti di Cardinali, Principi, e di altri Personaggi Illustri, e Guerrieri, e diverse Opere Sagre, e profane.* IN ROMA, MDCC. CON LICENZA DE' SUPERIORI. On p. 3 is an authorisation for reprinting (*Reimprimatur*) so that this is not the earliest edition. It is in 12mo. and has 92+4 pages : and it is followed by a smaller work of 24 pp., bearing the title INDICE SECONDO Disposto per Alfabeto, *Nel quale si comprendono le Stampe ordinarie intagliate in rame, al bulino, & all' acqua forte.* Esistenti nella Stamperia DI GIO. GIACOMO DE ROSSI In Roma alla Pace. IN ROMA MDC XCVI. Per Antonio de Rossi dietro à San Silvestro in Capite à strada della Vite. CON LICENZA DE SUPERIORI. There is no *imprimatur*, and we cannot therefore be sure if this is the first edition. It is curious that the name of Giovanni Giacomo de Rossi is found alone on the title-page of the second work : but it is also quite likely that Domenico may not have thought it good business to substitute his own name for his father's until he had become better known. The same is the case, indeed, with the *Altro indice delle carte . . ., di diversi autori* of 1699 (Cambridge, University Library, v. ii. 672).

I have another copy of the Indice (pp. 105+3), bearing date 1724, on the title-page of which the name of Domenico de Rossi, erede di Gio. Giacomo still appears. This was the very year of his death, for Ehrle cites an edition of the same date issued by Lorenzo Filippo de' Rossi, figlio del fu Domenico, erede di Gio. Giacomo (Gabinetto Nazionale delle Stampe, K. i. 46).

In 1738, as Ehrle tells us, the whole stock of the De Rossi family was bought by

He substituted his own name on the title pages for that of Giandomenico, but cancelled the date without inserting a new one. He was also responsible for the numbering of the plates (see Table α, Col. IX: Table γ, Col. II).

The contents of the collection were the same as those of the edition of 1645.

The only copy I have seen is in the Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (20. A. IV. 60–61).

5. The plates passed, as we have seen, to the Calcografia Camerale in 1738: and in the catalogue of 1797 (p. 4) they are entered as 140 in number, at the price of 2 scudi 50 baiocchi. But in 1823, in all probability, seven of them were suppressed by order of Leo XII. as indecent (Ehrle, p. 24, n. 9) (Cavalieri iii. iv. 30, 66–67, 68, 70, 81: Table γ, 33), and the latter part of the collection was consequently renumbered. The plates are still preserved in the Regia Calcografia (*Catalogo*, No. 1341).

It will be seen that the matter is by no means so simple as Hübner seemed to think. He dismisses the whole question as follows (p. 47), "the plates of Cavallieri (sic) and Vaccarius were thus in 1621, as the title of the volume cited proves, in the possession of Gottifredus de Schaichis. Cavallieri's plates have been preserved until the present day: they are in the Calcografia Camerale." If this were all, the foregoing paper need never have been written.[1]

Clement XII. for 45,000 scudi, after an attempt to sell it to some Englishmen for 60,000 scudi had been frustrated, and the Pope thus founded the Calcografia Camerale: this was taken over in 1870 by the Italian Government, and became the Calcografia Reale. (Ovidi, *La Calcografia Romana*, pp. 11 *sqq*.)

[1] The article which was announced in the *Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino* published by the School (p. 12) as about to appear in *Bibliofilia*, vol. xiv. (1912), was never written, and its place has been taken by the present paper, which also supersedes the bibliography given in *Cap. Cat.* p. 11 *sqq*. I have not thought it necessary to mention all the errors and omissions which will be found there: though I may point out that the misquotation of the title of the *Collectio XLIX Statuarum* (*supra*, p. 136) and that of the 1668 edition of Marcucci (III. A. 4) are due to Michaelis and Schreiber respectively. I must also acknowledge the help received from Prof. H. Stuart Jones, in conjunction with whom I first worked through the collections of engravings I have described.

NOTES ON THE TABLES.

1. The legends which occur on the plates have not been given, so as not to overburden the tables: and for the same reason the variations which were subsequently introduced in them have not been noted where they do not add any new fact.

2. The numbers in the different columns give the order of the plates in the various editions. The numbers in round brackets are the numbers which are actually found on the plates, when they have survived from an earlier arrangement and thus have no significance. In Column V of Table *a*, *a* means that the numbering refers to the place of the plate in Books i. ii. of the edition of 1623, *b* to its place in Book iii. (p. 134, n. 1).

— means that the engraving is present, but without a number.

Square brackets indicate the use of a different plate.

3. The following abbreviations have been adopted:—

A. = Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen.*
Am. = Amelung, *Führer durch die Antiken in Florenz.*
D. = Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke in Italien.*
E.C. = Enlarged copy.
H. = Hülsen, *Römische Antikengärten* (the inventories, pp. 11 *sqq.*, 97 *sqq.*, are cited by numbers).
M.-D. = Matz-Duhn, *Antike Bildwerke in Rom.*
N.D. = New drawing.
N.P. = New plate.
Q. = The copy of the *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae* of Antoine Lafrèry described in Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135, pp. 119 *sqq.* No. 1530.
R. = Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire* (Vol. i, the reproduction of Clarac, is cited simply as I).

4. In Table *a* (1), columns I*a* and I*b*, where the number of a plate is given on the same line, the same plate has been used in both editions.

TABLE *a* (1). CAVALIERI, BOOKS I., II.

I*a*	I*b*	II.	III.	IV.	V.	VI.	VII.	VIII.	IX.	X.	XI.
Second Edition, Bk. I. (1561) (I. 1 *b*)	Standard Edition Bks. I., II. (I. 2 *a*, *b*)	Remarks.	Name.	Collection.	1623.	1668.	Van Aelst 1619.	1645.	ante 1694.	Calcografia.	Present Locality.
	1		Laocoon	Vatican	*b* 16			(1)	78	78	Vatican, Belvedere 74.
	2		Tiber	,, (garden)	*b* 2	—	[γ 11]	[—]	[53]	[53]	Louvre, Cat. Somm. 593.
	3		Nile	,, ,,	*b* 3		[γ 12]	[—]	[54]	[54]	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 109.
	4		Apollo	Vatican (Belvedere)	*a* 34			—	24	24	,, Belvedere 92.
	5[1]		Milo or Antinous	Vatican (garden)	*b* 5			(—)	82	82	,, ,, 53.
	6		Cleopatra	,, ,,	*a* 65		[γ 14]	[—]	[58]	[58]	,, Gall. Stat. 414.
	7	(draped female)	Goddess	,, ,,	*b* 15			(15)	129	122	?
	8	(Hera ?)	Goddess	,, ,,	*b* 39	—					Capitol, Salone 24.
	9		Vesta	,, ,,	*a* 9	—					Vatican, Garden : R. ii. 687. 2 : A. 774.
	10	(draped female)	Goddess	,, ,,	*a* 31	—					?
	11	(Portrait)	'Iulia C. Petronii uxor'	,, ,,	*a* 77			(11)	131	124	Capitol, Atrio 8.
	12		Cybele	,, ,,	*b* 18			(18)	85	85	Vatican, Garden :[2] R. i. 182. 3 : A. 784.
	13		Fortuna	,, ,,							Lost : cf. Capitol Catalogue, pp. 35, 364.
	14		Iuventas	,, ,,	*a* 14			(14)	132	125	Vatican, Garden : R. ii. 687, 5 ; A. 786.
	15	(draped female)	Pudicitia	,, ,,	*a* 15	—					Capitol, Scala 1.
	16		Flora	,, ,,	*a* 86	—					Vatican, Garden : R. ii. 687. 4 : A. 785.
	17	(draped female)	Polyhymnia	,, ,,	*b* 17			(17)	128	121	?
	18	(draped female)	Goddess	,, ,,				(18)	135	128	?
1			Rome	Cesi			(1)	(1)	3(1)	3(1)	Conservatori, Cortile 19, 21,[3] : H. 84, 87.
	19	E. C.	,,	,,	*a* 43	—					
2			Parthian King	,,			—	—	4	4	Conservatori, Cortile 24 ; H. 85.
	20	E. C.	,,	,,	*b* 20	—					
3			,, ,, (another)	,,			—	—	5	5	,, ,, ,, 17 : H. 86.
	21	E. C.	,,	,,	*a* 21						
	22	(Pan and Daphnis)	Satyr and Youth	,,	*a* 22[4]	—	[γ 34]				Ludovisi 4 (Schreiber) : Terme 8571 (Paribeni, *Guida* 1911, 190): H. 141
7			Consul	,,			—	—	20	20	H. 89. ?
	23	E. C.	,,	,,	*b* 23						
4		(uncertain)	Amazon	,,					105	105	Capitol, Gladiatore 2 : H 1.
	24	E. C.	,,	,,	*b* 24		—	—	124	117	
5			'Agrippina'	,,			—	—	121	29	H. 71.[5] Capitol, Salone 11.
	25	E. C.	,,	,,	*b* 29	[6]					
6			Semele	,,			—	—	98	98	H. 110. ,, Atrio 10.
	26	E. C.	,,	,,							
9			Hercules	Farnese			—	—	30	30	Naples, 280 (6001) : R. i. 465. 1-3.
	27	N. D.	,,	,,	*b* 27	—					
10			'Gladiator alias Imperator'	,,			—				,, 1015 (6000).
	28	N. D.	Gladiator	,,	*b* 28			—	75	75	

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[1] Plate of 1st edition.

[2] For 12, 14, 16 cf. Capitol Catalogue pp. 369, 403 (they are in the casino of Pius IV.).

[3] The numbering is that of the Catalogue of the Museo dei Conservatori which the School has in preparation.

[4] Locality altered (wrongly) to *in Villa Borgesia.*

[5] In his addenda (p. 123) Hülsen follows Amelung in identifying it with Munich, Glyptothek 208.

[6] Found only in the earlier edition (III A. 3).

8			Atreus	Farnese							
							—	—	77	77	Naples, 243 (5999): R. i. 486. 5.
	29	N. D.	Commodus	"							
14			Parthian king	"							
							—	—	6	6	" 76 (6122): R. i. 519. 4.[1]
	30	E. C.	"	"							
15			Armenian king	"							
							—	—	7	7	" 77 (6116): R. i. 519. 6.
	31	E. C.		"							
11			'Spes' "	"							
							—	—	108[2]	108	" 242 (6409): R. i. 212. 5.
	32	N. D.	Goddess	"							
12			Pomona	"							
							—	—	120	120	" 42 (5978): R. i. 214. 4.
	33	N. D.	Flora	"							
							—	—	109	109	
13		(porphyry, extremities of bronze)	Rome	"							
							—	—	133	126	" 707 (6281): R. i. 254. 1.
	34	N. D. (extremities of white marble, drapery of black)	"	"							
17			Nymph of Diana	"			—	—	123	96	Florence, D. iii. 213; Am. 98 (?): A. 357/9.
	35	E. C. (material as 17)	"	"							
16			'Vestalis dea'	"			—	—	139	132	Replica of Naples 530 (6354) (R. i. 373. 3). and of Villa Albani 103 (R. i. 389. 8).
	36	E. C.	"	"							
	37	(Apollo)	'Hermaphrodite'				—	—	25	25	Naples 675 (6262): R. i. 243. 6.
18			Minerva	"			—[3]	—	88	88	" 483 (6319): R. i. 230. 4.
	38	E. C.									
20			Aesculapius	Card. Ferrara (Este)			—	—	50	50	? H. 1 (later to Villa Medici).
	39	E. C.	"	"[4]							
21			" (another)	"							*Not* Louvre, Cat. Somm. 639 (R. i. 148. 4).
							—	—	51	51	H. 26. Vatican Garden, A. 800.
	40	E. C.	" "	"[4]							
36	41		Hadrian	"[4]			—	—	18	18	H. 21. Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 132.
19			Spes	"			—	—	107	107	H. 44/46. " " " 94. (rejected by Hübner, p. 94).
	42	E. C.		"							
24			Psyche	"							
							—	—	119	119	H. 110. Capitol, Gladiatore 6.
	43	E. C.		"							
35	44		Hygia	"	*b* 34			(34)	99(34)	99(34)	H. 109. Vatican, Giardino della Pigna (not in catalogues)[5]: R. ii. 338. 2.
39	45		Ceres	"	*b* 33						H. 20. Quirinal, M.-D. 1422.
37	46		Diana	"	*b* 26	—					H. 2. Later to Villa Medici. Found at Hadrian's Villa (?) (*Archaeologia*, lxi. (1908) 225 note *d*).
33	47		Juno	"	*b* 37			(37)	87	87	H. 44/46. ?
28	48		'Aeternitas'	"	*b* 38			(38)	86	86	H. 44/46. ?
32	49	(draped female)	unknown	"	*b* 36						H. 22/23. Vatican, Chiaramonti 14.[6]
	50	(" " headless)	"	"	*b* 35						H. 129.[7] Dresden, Hettner 280: R. i. 313. 4.
38	51		Venus, Eros, Anteros	"	*b* 31			—	97	97	H. 12. Vatican, Chiaramonti 353: R. ii. 377. 5.
34	52		'Venus Cypria'	"	*b* 52[8]			(52)	95	95	H. 128. Florence, Pitti: D. ii. 6.

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[1] See Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898) p. 253, n. 28.

[2] *Spei seu Flore Statua in Aed. Farnesianis.*

[3] *In Campidoglio* (added wrongly).

[4] In the 'standard' edition, owing to rearrangement, 'ibidem' in the legend wrongly refers, not to Card. Ferrara, but to Farnese.

[5] cf. my article on 'the Villa d'Este,' in *Archaeologia*, lxi. (1908), p. 252.

[6] Hülsen (following Amelung) says it recurs in the 1645 edition, but I have not found it.

[7] Hülsen's suggestion that this statue may have been found in excavations on the Palatine in 1566, 1569, or 1570 (Addenda, p. 124) is vitiated by the fact that it occurs in the first edition (before 1562), the arrangement of the plates in which makes it not improbable that it really belonged to the collection of Cardinal da Carpi, though I cannot identify it with any of the statues in Hülsen's list of that collection. See above p. 112, n.

[8] The number is reckoned as though it were 25.

TABLE *a* (1). CAVALIERI, BOOKS I., II.—(*continued*).

I*a* Second Edition, Bk. I. (1561) (I. 1 *b*)	I*b* Standard Edition Bks. I., II. (I. 2*a*, *b*)	II. Remarks.	III. Name.	IV. Collection.	V. 1623.	VI. 1668.	VII. Van Aelst. 1619.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calcografia.	XI. Present Locality.
22			'Tyro, wife of Hercules'	Card. Ferrara			—	—	122	39	H. 39.[1]
	53	copy (same size)	,,	,,	*b* 13						
25			'Mnemosyne'	,,			—	—	126	92	H. 54.[2]
	54	E. C.	,,	,,	*b* 14						
26	55		,, (another)	,,	*b* 21			(21)	127	91	H. 53. Vatican, Chiaramonti 177.
30	56		Urania	,,	*b* 30	—					H. 48. ,, ,, 61.
27	57		Pallas	,,	*b* 32						H. 51. ,, ,, 63.
29	58		Polyhymnia	,,	*a* 58	—					H. 49. ,, ,, 16.
31	59		Comedy	,,	*b* 22						H. 50. ,, ,, 402.
23			Bellona	,,			—	—	90	90	H. 52. ,, ,, 403.[3]
	60	E. C.	,,	,,	*a* 61						
	61		Hercules	Villa Papa Giulio III.			—	—	32	32	Cf. Thode,[4] p. 28, No. 20.
	62		Shepherd	,,			—	—	44	44	M.-D. 417; now Ny Carlsberg 158.
	63	(male nude)	unknown	,,			—	—	21	21	M.-D. 1051 (?)
	64	(draped female)	Goddess	,,			—	—	134	127	?
	65	(Leda)	'Venus'	,,			—	—	94	94	Florence, Uffizi, D. iii. 228. (R. i. 197. 3)?
	66	(draped female)	Goddess	,,			—	—	140	133	?
	67		Ceres	,,			—	—	101	101	?
42	68		M. Aurelius	Capitol (Piazza)			—	—	16	16	Capitol, Piazza. (Helbig i.^{3} p. 408).
43	69		Tigris (rest. as Tiber)	,,			—	—	56	56	,, (Helbig i.^{3} p. 412).
44	70		Nile	,,			—	—	55	55	,, ,, ,,
	71		Augustus	Capitol			—	—	13	13	Conservatori, Cortile 2 (Helbig i.^{3} No. 886).
	72		Julius Caesar	,,			—	—	12	12	Conservatori, Cortile 1 (Helbig i.^{3} No. 885).
	73	(Camillus)	Bronze statue	,,			—	—	67	67	Conservatori, Bronzes 14 (Helbig i.^{3} No. 957).
	74	(Thornboy)	Bronze statue	,,			—	—	73	73	Conservatori, Bronzes 1 (Helbig i.^{3} 956).
	75[5]		Bronze Hercules	,,			—	—	33	33	,, 2nd Storey Corridor, 34. (Helbig i.^{3} 1005).
	76		Jupiter	,,							Capitol, Atrio 41.
	77		Ceres	,,			—	—	103	103	,, ,, 31.
45	78		Constantine	,,			—	—	17	17	,, Piazza (Helbig i.^{3} p. 411).
	79		Lion and horse	,,			—	—	81	81	Conservatori, Garden 100 (Helbig i.^{3} No. 944).

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[1] Penna (*Villa Adriana* iii. 34) conjectures, but without any real grounds, that this is one of five statues lost at sea in 1774 (*Archaeologia* lxi. 238). Ligorio (*Vat. Lat.* 5295, 21, *Taur.* xx. 44) records the discovery of fragments of two statues in Hadrian's Villa (Winnefeld, *Villa des Hadrians* (*Jahrb. d. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iii.), 153), each of a seated woman with a dog under her chair. He notes that the drapery was very thin, and the *tunica* had very delicate folds. One of these, the present one, seems to be lost: the other is now in Florence (Uffizi 35: D. iii. 60: Am. 85). The illustration Hülsen gives is not reversed as he appears to think: it is from plate 22 of the original edition.

[2] Probably the replica of the 'Polyhymnia' in the Sala delle Muse which now stands on the roof of the Braccio Nuovo (Amelung, *Vatik. Katalog* i. p. 848).

[3] Cannot be Capitol, Salone 8 (as R. ii. 277. 9 suggests) which was not found until the eighteenth century.

[4] *Die Antiken in den Stichen Marcantonios.*

[5] After Lafrèry Q. 182.

47	80		Sabina	Capranica[2]			—	—	111[1]	111	Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi (D. iii. 560; Am. 6).
49	81		,, (another)	,,			—	—	112	112	Florence, Loggia dei Lanzi (D. iii. 559).
50	82		,, ,,	,,			—	—	110[3]	110	,, ,, ,, ,, 558).
48	83		,, ,,	,,			—	—	113	113	,, ,, ,, ,, 561).
	84		Wolf and twins in porphyry	Valle[2]			—	—	2	2	Lost.[4]
	85		Marsyas	,,	*b* 6		—[5]	—	27	27	Florence, Uffizi 155 (D. iii. 251; Am. 87).
	86		Bacchante	,,			—	—	45	45	Louvre, Fröhner, No. 291, R. i. 139. 2.[6]
	87		Satyr	,,	*b* 8		—[7]	—	43[8]	43	Capitol, Cortile 23.
46	88		Parthian King	Arch of Constantine			—	—	8	8	Arch of Constantine (cf. *Capitol Catalogue*, p. 31).
41	89		Horse tamers ('Opus Phidiae')	Quirinal	*b* 9		[γ 20][9]	[—]	[66]	[66]	Quirinal (M.-D., 959; Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898) 248).
40	90		Horse tamers ('Opus Praxitelis')	,,	*b* 01		[γ 19][9]	[—]	[65]	[65]	
—	91[10]	(draped female)	unknown	De Cupis			—	—	137	130	?
52[11]	92	,,	Pasquino		*b* 19		—	—	76	76	Outside Palazzo Braschi (M.-D. 965).
	93		Ocean	Fabii (Piazza Sciarra)				—	52	52	Naples 40 (5977).
51[12]	94		Marforio	(S. Martina)	*b* 4	—	[γ 24]	[—]	[83]	[83]	Capitol, Cortile 1.
	95	(Meleager)	Adonis	Bishop of Aquino			—	—	69	69[13]	Vatican, Sala di Meleagro 10.
	96		Pyrrhus	Massimi	*b* 7	—	—				Capitol, Atrio 40.
	97	(Diadumenos)	unknown	Villa Madama			—	—	74	74	British Museum, 501; R. i. 524. 2.
	98		Genius	,,			—	—	68	68	Hubner i. 107.
	99		Trophies of Marius		*b* 11		(11)	(11)	9	9	Capitol, Piazza: Helbig i.^{3} p. 409.
	100		,,		*b* 12		(12)	(12)	10	10	

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[1] *Aedibus Mediceis* substituted for *aedibus Capranicae*. Cf. also Florence, Uffizi, 82 (D. iii. 84; Am. 33).

[2] See Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891) p. 228, Nos. 17, 19, 20, 39–41, 78, 175.

[3] *In Hortis Mediceis* added (in 1645?).

[4] Michaelis *cit.* p. 236, No. 162.

[5] *in viridario Magni Ducis Etruriae* substituted for *in aedibus Valensibus Romae*.

[6] *Not* Florence, Uffizi 82 (D. iii. 84; Amelung 33).

[7] Occurs in Van Aelst, but not in 1619.

[8] *Huic . . . conspiciuntur* erased in legend.

[9] In my copy of Van Aelst both the older and the newer plates are present.

[10] Plate of 1st edition (see p. 112, n).

[11] After Lafrèry Q. 219.

[12] After Lafrèry Q. 217.

[13] *de Pichinis* added (in 1645?).

TABLE *a* (2). CAVALIERI, BOOKS III., IV.

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Vaccaria-De Schaichis.	V. 1623.	VI. 1668.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calcografia.	XI. Present Locality.
1	Phaethon	Garimberti		*a* 8		—	84	84	Alabaster relief. Forgery?
2	Hercules	,,		*a* 2	—				M.-D. 3160: cf. Robert, *Sark. Rel.* ii. p. 203, No. 191.
3	Bull[1]	Farnese		*a* 3		—	79	79	Naples 260 (6002): R. i. 483. 2; 484. 2.
4	Vintage	Garimberti		*a* 4		—	48	48	Relief. Forgery?
5	Q. Curtius	Capitol	5						Conservatori, Stairs 21: Helbig i.[3] 896. (r)[2]
6	Priapus	Garimberti		*a* 6	—				? Vienna[3]: R. ii. 74. 10. (r ?)[8]
7	'Terra vel Natura' (Ephesian Diana)	,,		*a* 7	—				? R. ii. 321. 8.[4]
8	,, (another)	,,			(8)				R. ii. 322. 1. (Forgery.)
9	Niobe and daughter	Grand Duke of Tuscany[5]	44						Florence, Uffizi 241:[6] D. iii. 264, Am. 174. (r)
10	'Vir Niobes'	,,		*a* 10		—	116	116	,, ,, 247: D. iii. 258, Am. 183. (r)
11	'Filii Niobes luctantes' (wrestlers)	,,		*a* 11	—				,, ,, (Tribuna): D. iii. 547, Am. 66. (r)
12	'Filius Niobes'	,,		*a* 12	—				,, ,, 253: D. iii. 269, Am. 179.
13	,, (another)	,,		*a* 13	—				,, ,, 256; D. iii. 266 Am. 176. (r)
14	,, (another)	,,	43						,, ,, 255 (or 252): D. iii. 267, 253, Am. 177, 180
15	,, (another)	,,							Florence, Uffizi 244: D. iii. 261, Am. 185. (r)
16	'Una ex filiabus Niobes'	,,		*a* 16	—				,, ,, 251: D. iii. 254, Am. 169. (r)
17	,, (another)	,,		*a* 17		—	115	115	D. iii. p. 137 (Muse now called Polyhymnia)[7]
18	,, (another)	,,		*a* 18		—	114	114	Florence, Uffizi 257: D. iii. 265, Am. 175. (r)
19	,, (another)	,,		*a* 19	—				,, ,, 246: D. iii. 259, Am. 184. (r)
20	'Diana trivia'	Garimberti		*a* 20	—				? R. ii. 310. 5.
21	Diana	Farnese	34						R. ii. 319. 2. Forgery? Same type as Vatican. Chiaramonti 341, but without veil at back.
22	,, (another)	,,		*a* 29	—				? R. ii. 310. 4.
23	'Jupiter rex'	Garimberti		*a* 23	—				Later to Villa Borghese: ? R. ii. 12. 7.
24	'Juppiter aequus'	Ceuoli (Ceuli)		*a* 24	—[8]				Borghese, then Aldobrandini: M.-D. 17.
25	Leda	,,		*a* 25	—	[γ 33][9]	[117]	X[10]	Later to Villa Borghese: ? R. ii. 416. 6.

[1] Three elegiac couplets *Ingentem Dircem . . . sita est* below.

[2] Plates marked (r) are reversed (*supra*, p. 122), and it is possible that some of those which I have not been able to identify are reversed also, as Reinach generally assumes in reproducing them. Hübner (p. 42) is however wrong in supposing that *all* are reversed—Nos. 3, 30, 76, 88 are examples to the contrary.

[3] Jahn (*Bonner Jahrb.* xxvii., p. 60, n. 43; cf. Pl. III. 4) mentions it as a possible identification: but there are differences in detail. Cf. also his article on *Cod. Pigh.* in *Sächs. Ber.* 1868, p. 173, No. 5 (f. 24ᵛ).

[4] Dussaud (*Notes de Mythologie Syrienne*, 67 *sqq.*) points out that it is really a Jupiter Heliopolitanus, wrongly restored.

[5] Legend *in hortis* (or *in palatio*) *Magni Ducis Etruriae* (Villa Medici).

[6] Cf. Hübner in *Rév. Arch.* Sér. iv. vol. 13 (1909), 81.

[7] Exactly like R. i. 274. 2 (Pawlowsk) or 166. 3 (Louvre: Froehner 391), but reversed.

[8] The legend has been altered to *Jupiter in Villa Borgesia.*

[9] This plate occurs in Van Aelst and 1619, but not in 1645: it is a reversed copy.

[10] This and other plates thus marked (30, 66, 67, 68, 70, 81) were no doubt among those destroyed in 1823 by order of Leo XII. (Ehrle, *Pianta del Du Pérac*, p. 24).

26	Ganymede	Farnese		*a* 26	—				R. ii. 475. 2. Not Naples 278 (6355), R. i. 191. 5 (head and lower part of legs differently restored).[1] (r)
27	Neptune and Triton	Valle		*a* 27			23	23	Cf. Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 229, No. 22: R. ii. 30. 2.
28	Pluto and Cerberus	,,		*a* 28			22	22	? R. ii. 20. 2.[2] Cf. Dosio, Berl. f. 27. No. 72 and Marucell. 161r. (Hülsen, *Ausonia*, vii. (1912), p. 38, 88).
29	Mercury	Farnese		*a* 5			28	28	? Type of R. i. 369. 1. (but nude, and arms reversed—left outstretched).
30	Mercury and Chloris	,,		*a* 30		—	29	X	British Museum 1602.
31	‘Mercurius Sedentriorum’	Garimberti							? R. ii. 151. 4.
32	Mars	Capitol		*a* 32	—				? R. ii. 179. 6. It does not seem to be either Capitol, Roof 4 or Conservatori, Roof 4.
33	Antinous	*Victoriarum* (Vettori)		*a* 33	—				Louvre. R. i. 134. 4. (r)
34	‘Apollo, opus Timanthidis’	Farnese	26						? R. ii. 93. 4.
35	Apollo	Vettori		*a* 35	—				Petworth, No. 5 (reversed).
36	Bellona	Capitol		*a* 36		—	89	89	Capitol, Atrio 4: R. ii. 290. 2. (r)
37	Pallas[3]	Cesi		*a* 37					H. 72. Dresden, Hettner 72: R. i. 232. 4,[4] ii. 293, 3 (reversed)
38	Infant Hercules	Albertoni		*a* 38	—				? R. ii. 230. 9.
39	,, ,,	Garimberti		*a* 39	—				Turin: D. iv. 85, R. i. 461. 5. (r)
40	‘Hercules Auentinus indico ex lapide’	Capitol		*a* 40	—				Capitol, Salone 3.
41	Hercules	‘Petrus Sculptor’		*a* 41	—	[γ 3]	[34]	[34]	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3560. Cf. Vacc. 67 (Valle).
42	‘Hercules Acheloi domitor’	Farnese		*a* 42	—				Probably Dresden, Hettner 153: R. i. 463, 5; cf. Dosio, Berl. 70v, No. 162 (Hülsen, *cit.* p. 96). (r)
43	Amazon (crouching)	Albertoni				5			? R. ii. 325, 4, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* viii. (1893) p. 126, Fig. 5.
44	,, (on horseback)	Pietro Santacroce		*a* 44		—	130	123	Palazzo Patrizi (M.-D. 948): R. ii. 326. 1. (r)
45	‘Humanae uitae uices aetatesue (Bacchus with infant Mercury)	Farnese		*a* 45	—				R. ii. 173. 7.
46	(Psyche)	,,		*a* 46	—				Capitol, Galleria 20 (the legend is incorrect). (r)
47	‘Securitas’	,,		*a* 47	—				?
48	‘Pietas’	Garimberti		*a* 48	—				?
49	‘Arithmetica uel Erato Musa’	,,		*a* 49	—				?
50	‘Sibylla et libri Sibylini’	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 50	—				Like R. i. 261. 1.[6] (r)

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[1] As Prof. Hüllen pointed out to me, the inscription has been altered from *Vallensibus*. It must therefore be Florence, Uffizi 88, as Reinach suggests: cf. Vacc. 45. γ 21.

[2] The identification he suggests in his notes to Aldrovandi, p. 298 (*Les Dessins de Pierre Jacques*, p. 85, N. 4) with the Pluto and Cerberus in the garden of Cardinal Pio de Carpi is by no means probable. The engraving of Cav. is certainly reversed, as Reinach points out.

[3] Plate in style of first edition: *In aedibus Caesiis* inserted over an erasure.

[4] 75 in his text is a false reference.

[5] This plate occurs in Hauser's copy of Van Aelst (No. 82) bearing its original number (43), but cannot be traced elsewhere (*supra*, p. 129, n. 2).

[6] The locality is given by Clarac as Museo Chiaramonti, but I cannot identify the statue there.

TABLE *a* (2). CAVALIERI, BOOKS III., IV.—(*continued*).

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Vaccaria-De Schaichis.	V. 1623.	VI. 1668.	VIII. 1645.	IX. ante 1694.	X. Calco-grafia.	XI. Present Locality.
51	‘Aegeria Aricina’	Farnese		*b* 40	—				Naples 1938 (6403): R. i. 258. 6.
52	‘Lachesis, Atropos’	Garimberti		*a* 52	—				Two figures from Florence, Uffizi 336: D. iii. 510, Am. 163; Hauser, *Neu-att. Rel.* p. 13, No. 9. (r)
53	Cymothoe	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 53	—				Florence, Uffizi 162: D. iii. 248, Am. 108. (r)
54	Pomona	Garimberti		*a* 54	—				Later to Villa Borghese. Like R. i. 217. 1. (Berlin 203, Cavaceppi ii. 45) and *ib.* 6. (Florence, Uffizi 74; D. iii. 121, Am. 56).
55	‘Corinthus’	”		*a* 55	—				?
56	Philosopher	”		*a* 56					Like R. i. 514. 2. (Coll. Giustiniani). (r)
57	M. Mettius Epaphroditus	Albertoni		*a* 57	—				Palazzo Altieri: M.-D. 1320.
58	Tigris	Bernardo Porta							Forgery? R. ii. 41. 3.
59	Fisherman	‘Petrus sculptor’		*a* 59		—	63	63	R. ii. 557. 2.[1]
60	Boy fishing	(found at the Vatican)		*a* 60		—	62	62	Cf. Vacc. 14 (*in Capitolio*): R. ii. 557. 7. (r)
61	‘Cupido Puber’	Giambattista Luraghi	63						Michaelis, *Arch. Zeit.* 1879, 172; R. ii. 448. 2.
62	Hymenaeus	Garimberti		*a* 62		—	71	71	R. ii. 454. 3.
63	Alpheus	Farnese		*a* 63	—				Naples 500 (6375); R. i. 355. 4. (r)
64	‘Cupido in tyrocinio’	Garimberti		*a* 64	—				Gall. Giustiniani 27. Probably Torlonia 171 (trunk with quiver restored: R. i. 352, 1). (r)
65	‘Castor et Pollux Pro meretriculae Voto successio Amatorum’	Fabio Bauerio			—				Gall. Giustiniani 25: R. i. 352. 2 R. (present locality?). (r)
66	Venus Callipige	Farnese		*a* 66[2]		—	96	X	Naples 314 (6020): R. i. 328. 1–3. (r)
67	Venus	”		*a* 67		—	91	X	Perhaps R. i. 331. 3: Naples 307 (6286), reversed.[3]
68	‘Venus Corollaria’	”		*a* 68		—	92	X	Naples 309 (6293): R. i. 340. 2. (r)
69	‘Venus in contubernio Martis’	Ceuoli		*a* 69	—				Later to Villa Borghese: R. i. 329. 6 (Vatican).[4]
70	Venus	Dosio		*a* 70		[γ 34]	93	X	Cf. Hülsen, *Ausonia* vii. 64, note 1; R. ii. 349. 6.
71	Laurea	Garimberti		*a* 71		—	106	106	? R. ii. 398. 7.

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[1] The suggestion in the text ‘perhaps R. i. 540. 3. differently restored’ is unfortunate, as that statue turns out to be a bronze from Pompeii (Friedrichs-Wolters 1548). I have not been able to ascertain who ‘Petrus sculptor’ (cf. No. 41) was: but he was obviously one of the many sculptors to whom statues were entrusted for restoration.

[2] The plate is missing in the Biblioteca Angelica copy, but occurs in the Berlin copy.

[3] Not R. i. 334 (Naples 231 (6288)) as Reinach suggests, for this was found at Pompeii.

[4] It is no doubt in one of the storerooms with other statues of a similar character. The engraving is reversed.

72	Bacchissa	Garimberti		*a* 72	1	(γ 2)	46	46	Palazzo Borghese: (M.-D. 1374)? : R. ii. 405. 10. (r)
73	'Virgo sponsi et nuptiarum appetens'	,,		*a* 73	—				Later to Villa Borghese: Reinach compares R. i. 322. 2; (Florence, Uffizi 265; Am. 138).
74	Bacchus and Silenus	Muzio Mattei (Quirinal)		*a* 74		—	37	37	Ludovisi: Schreiber 77: Terme 193 (8606).
75	Silenus and infant Bacchus	Muti		*a* 75	—				Later to Villa Borghese ?
76	Bacchus and Silenus	Farnese		*a* 76	1	[γ 6]	[38]	[38]	Previously Cesarini (Vacc. 57): Naples 253 (6022): R. i. 397. 6.
77	Bacchus	,,							Naples 1042 (6314): R. i. 583. 7; ii. 117. 3. (r)
78	Satyr with basket of fruit, coloured	Garimberti		*a* 78	—				Forgery? R. ii. 69. 1.
79	Silenus	,,		*a* 79	—				Later to Villa Borghese:? R. ii. 781. 5.
80	'Autumnus plenior in pineae excussione'	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 80	—				British Museum 1656: R. ii. 137. 5. (r)
81	Satyr and Daphnis	Farnese		*a* 81		—	39	X	Naples 255 (6329): R. ii. 70. 5.
82	Silenus	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 82		—	47[2]	47	Ludovisi: Schreiber 137 (not Terme). (r)
83	Bacchus	Dosio		*a* 83	—				R. ii. 136. 4.
84	,,	Capitol		*a* 84	—				Conservatori, Roof 8 (contrast Hübner, *Statue* i. p. 43—who considers it improbable that such an original ever existed). (r)
85	"Genius salutis uel Natalis"	Mignanelli		*a* 85	—				R. ii. 45. 6.
86	Bacchus	Garimberti							R. ii. 136. 3.
87	Bacchus	Farnese		*a* 87	—				R. ii. 121. 6.
88	Faun (dancing)	Ceuli		*a* 88	—	[γ 8]	[41]	[41]	Villa Borghese: R. i. 408. 3, Helbig ii.^{3} 1531, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* 1891, 170.
89	Julius Caesar	Mignanelli		*a* 89	—				Palazzo Spada: M.-D. 1073. (r)
90	M. Manlius (Arrotino)	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 90	—				Florence, Uffizi (Tribuna): Am. 68. (r)
91	Cincinnatus	Card. Montalto		*a* 91		—	11	11	Vatican, Candelabri 6 (Hermes): R. i. 487. 5.
92	Emperor	Grand Duke of Tuscany		*a* 92		—	19	19	Lost: Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 232, No. 91; R. ii. 577, 1.
93	Caesar Augustus	Lodovico Mattei		*a* 93		—	15	15	R. ii. 573. 9.
94	Aurelius Caesar	,,		*a* 94		—	14	14	R. ii. 573. 7.
95	'Libertorum manumissio'	Albertoni		*a* 95		—	80	80	Villa Altieri: M.-D. 3602.
96	'Coniugum sepulcrum'	Savelli		*a* 96	—				Cover of the Sarcophagus with the labours of Hercules. Museo Torlonia 420: Robert, *Sark. Rel.* III. i. p. 144. (r)
97	Fountain figure (man with wineskin)	Cesi		*a* 97	—				H. 66/67. Museo Torlonia 297 and Villa Albani 924: Heemskerck i. 25. (r)
98	Unknown (nude male)	Farnese		*a* 98	—				R. ii. 101, 10.
99	,, emperor	Odescalchi		*a* 99	—				*Papers*, viii. 84 n. 2: R. ii. 571. 7.
100	,, (bust)	Garimberti		*a* 100	—				R. ii. 585. 2.

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[1] Occurs in earlier edition, but not in 1668.

[2] *in hortis Ludouisijs* substituted (in 1645?)

TABLE β. VACCARIA—DE SCHAICHIS.

I.	II. Subject.	III. Collection.	IV. Copied from	V. Subject identical with	VI. Present locality
1	Title page				
2	Bronze Hercules	Capitol	Q. 182	De Cav. i. ii. 75	Conservatori, 2nd Story Corridor 34: Helbig I.³ 1005.
3 4	Trophies of Marius[1]			,, 99, 100	Capitol Piazza: Helbig I.³ p. 409 (reversed).
5	Q. Curtius	Capitol	= De Cav iii. iv. 5		Conservatori, Scala 21.
6	M. Aurelius	Capitol (Piazza)[2]	Q. 222, 223.	,, 68	Capitol, Piazza.
7	Urania	Capitol			Conservatori, Scala I. 4 (cf. *Capitoline Catalogue*, p. 365, No. 12).
8	Muse of Comedy	,,			Conservatori, Scala I. 19 (cf. *Capitoline Catalogue*, p. 367, Nos. 37, 47 (where 34 is a misprint for 43) and Addenda).
9	Julius Caesar	,,	De Cav. i. ii. 72		Conservatori, Cortile 1.
10	Augustus	,,	,, 71		,, Cortile 2.
11	Jupiter	,,	,, 76		Capitol, Atrio 41.
12	Genius[3]	,,			Conservatori, Roof 3.
13	Camillus	,,	Q. 207	De Cav. i. ii. 74	,, Bronze Room (E) 1.
14	Boy fishing	,,	Q. 205	,, iii. iv. 60	Lost: R. ii. 557. 7.
15	Wolf	,,	Q. 216		Conservatori, Scala II. 1.
16	Infant Hercules				Naples (Mus. Borb. i. 8): R. i. 462, 1, 3.
17	Horse-tamers ('opus Praxitelis')	Quirinal	De Cav. i. ii. 90, 89	Q. 201; γ, 19, 20	Quirinal.
18	,, ('opus Phidiae')	,,			
19	Horseman fighting Amazon	Farnese			Naples 304 (6407): R. i. 519. 5 (reversed).
20	Amazon falling from horse	,,			,, 305 (6405): R. i. 482. 5 (reversed).
21	Bull	,,	Q. 191 (reversed)	De Cav. iii. iv. 3. γ. 32	,, 260 (6002).
22	Mercury and Nymph	,,		,, iii. iv. 30	British Museum, 1602 (reversed).
23	Parthian King	,,	De Cav. i. ii. 30		Naples 76 (6122).
24	Armenian King	,,	,, i. ii. 31		,, 77 (6116).
25	Hermaphrodite	,,	Q. 184 (reversed)	,, i. ii. 37	,, 675 (6262).
26	'Apollo, opus Timanthidis'	,,	= De Cav. iii. iv. 34		? R ii. 93. 4.
27	Flora	,,[4]	De Cav. i. 12[5]		Naples 42 (5978) (fig. 8).
28	Venus	,,[4]		,, iii. iv. 68	,, 309 (6293).
29	Hercules[6]	,,		,, i. ii. 27	,, 280 (6001).
30	Minerva	,,	De Cav. i. ii. 38		,, 483 (6319).
31	Gladiator	,,		,, i. ii. 28	,, 1015 (6000).
32	Commodus	,,	Q. 228–30	,, i. ii. 29	,, 243 (5999).
33	Flora[7]	,,	De Cav. i. ii. 33		,, 42 (5978).
34	Diana	,,	,, iii. iv. 21		? R. ii. 319, 2.
35	Horseman (on round altar)	,,[8]			British Museum 1886 (without the altar) (bought in 1864)[9]; R. ii. 529. 6.
36	Rome	Cesi	,, i. ii. 19		Conservatori, Cortile 19, 21.
37	Satyr and Daphnis	,,	,, i. ii. 22	γ 35 (copy)	H. 141. Ludovisi 4: Terme 190 (8571).
38	,, ,,	Farnese		De Cav. iii. iv. 81	Naples 255 (6329) (reversed).

[1] The order is wrong, the last part of the legend being on No. 3, and the first on No. 4.

[2] On the pedestal is the inscription of Paul III. (Forcella, i. p. 33, No. 44).

[3] Signed Hor. Aquil. fac. (*supra*, p. 125).

[4] Added in second edition (Hübner, p. 45).

[5] Not 11, as Hübner says.

[6] Signature as 12.

[7] The same statue as 27.

[8] Added in second edition.

[9] Inv. Farnese 1568 (*Doc. Ined.* i. 74). 'Uno Cavallo di marmoro con un druso sopra.' I think there is little doubt that this, and not No. 19, is the Drusus; for Nos. 19, 20 are obviously indicated as 'duo cavalli sopra l'uno una donna et sopra l'altro un huomo.' As to the date of the acquisition of these and other Farnese statues by the British Museum, it is 1864, as the catalogues state (and I have official confirmation of the fact) so that *Arch. Zeitung* 1864, 287 is wrong (Hübner, p. 97).

39	Parthian	Cesi	De Cav. i. ii. 21		Conservatori, Cortile 17.
40	,,	,,	,, i. ii. 20		,, ,, 24.
41	Apollo (Daphnis)[1]	Card. Medici		γ 7 (copy)	Florence, Uffizi 205 (D. iii. 232, Am. 104).
42	Apollo	,,		γ 1	Poggio Imperiale: D. ii. 90 (so Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 230, No. 52).
43	'Filius Niobes'	Grand Duke of Tuscany	= ,, iii. iv. 14		Florence, Uffizi 255 (or 252).
44	'Niobes cum filia'	,,	= ,, iii. iv. 9		,, ,, 241
45	Ganymede	Card. Medici		γ 21 (copy)	,, ,, 88 (D. iii. 115, Am. 51. Michaelis, *loc. cit.* No. 161).
46	Cupid	Grand Duke of Tuscany[2]			Probably Naples 275 (6353).
47	Sleeping nymph (Cleopatra, Ariadne)	Vatican	,, i. ii. 6	γ 14	Vatican, Gall. Stat. 414.
48	Laocoon	,,	Engraving by P. Perret, 1581: cf. Q, 196 (reversed)	De Cav. i. ii. 1 ; γ 31 (copy)	,, Belvedere 74
49	Tiber[3]	,,		Q, 214. De Cav. i. ii. 2	Louvre Cat. Somm. 593
59	Nile	,,	Q. 215	De Cav. i. ii. 3	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 109.
51	Ocean	Cesarini	Q. 212	,, i. ii. 93	Naples 40 (5977).
52	Bronze Silenus	?			? Recumbent (lid of vase) (Thomassini 4).
53	'Milo alijs Antinous'	Vatican		,, i. ii. 5	Vatican, Belvedere 53.
54	Apollo Belvedere	,,		Q. 169. De Cav. i. ii. 4.	,, ,, 92 (hands restored).
55	Commodus with Victory	,,	Q. 225, 226		,, Chiaramonti 636.
56	Mercury	Alessandro de Grandi			Probably R. i. 365. 4 (Cavaceppi i. 43); in England?
57	Bacchus	Cesarini[4]	Q. 171–173 (C. Cort.)	De Cav. iii. iv. 76 : γ 6 (copy)	Naples 253 (6022).
58	Venus, Eros, Anteros	Card. Ferrara	De Cav. i. ii. 51		H. 12. Vatican, Chiaramonti 353: R. ii. 377. 5.
59	Adonis	Bishop of Aquino	,, 95		Vatican, Meleagro 10.
60	Bellona	Card. Ferrara	,, 60		H. 52. Vatican, Chiaramonti 403.
61	Shepherd	Villa Papa Giulio III.	,, 62		Ny Carlsberg 158.
62	Ceres	,,	,, 67		?
63	'Cupido puber'	Luraghi	= De Cav. iii. iv. 61		? R. ii. 448. 2.
64	'Cupido cogitabundus'	?		γ 22 (copy)	?
65	Venus and Cupid[5]	(Dosio)		De Cav. iii. iv. 70 : γ 34 (copy)	? R. ii. 349. 6 (who shows Venus on left).
66	Priapus	Alessandro de Grandi			? R ii. 73. 5.[6] *Bonner Jahrbücher* xxvii. p. 57 and Pl. iii. 1.
67	Hercules and Lion	Valle		De Cav. iii. iv. 41 : γ 3 (copy)	Villa Medici: M.-D. 3560, Michaelis, *Jahrb. cit.* p. 229, No. 31: cf. De Cav. iii. iv. 41 'in aedibus Petri sculptoris.'
68	'Regij.' 1579	(modern)			Renaissance painting (an archer).
69	Marsyas[7]	Valle		,, i. ii. 85	Florence, Uffizi 155: (Michaelis, *Jahrb. cit.* p. 228, No. 17).
70	Satyr	,,	De Cav. i. ii. 87		Capitol, Cortile 23.
71	Bacchante	,,	,, i. ii. 86		Louvre, Frohner 291: (Michaelis, *Jahrb. cit.* p. 231, No. 78).
72	Bacchus	,,			? Cf. Michaelis, *Jahrb. cit.* p. 235, No. 157.
73	'Commodus' (Diomedes)	?	Q. 227		Later in Verospi and Albani collections; now Munich, Glyptothek 304: R. i. 531. 4.
74	Trajan	Capodiferro		,, iii. iv. 89	Palazzo Spada.
75	Faun	Borghese[2]	Q. 208 (reversed)	,, iii. iv. 88 : γ 8	Villa Borghese: Helbig. ii.[3] 1531. Legend added later: cf. De Cav. 'in aedibus Tib. Ceuoli.'
76	Pyrrhus	Massimi	Q. 221	,, i. ii. 96	Capitol, Atrio 40 (fig. 8).
77	Horatius	(Villa Medici)			Villa Medici: M.-D. 3518. Cf. *P.B.S.R.* iv. 233.
78	Faun	?		γ 9 (copy)	?
79	Marforio		Q. 217 (reversed)	De Cav. i. ii. 94	Capitol, Cortile 1.
80	Pasquino			,, i. ii. 92. Q. 219	Palazzo Braschi; M.-D. 965 (reversed).

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[1] Signed *Cherubinus Al Bertus fe.* 1577 (reversed). [2] Added in second edition. [3] As 41 (*Albertus*). [4] The legend was never corrected, even in the later editions.

[5] *Veneris et Cupidinis statua marmorea Romae in aedibus cuiusdam mercatoris Florentini in banchis. Vit. f.* Cavalieri shows the Venus on the spectator's right, Vaccaria on the left, and γ 34 (though it is a copy of Vacc. not of Cav.) on the right again.

[6] Jahn's text gives no ground for Reinach's conjecture that the statue is still at Vienna: he expressly says that it was only known to him from Vaccaria.

[7] Signed *Cherub. Albertus f.* 1578.

TABLE γ. PLATES FOUND IN VAN AELST (III. B. I.) AND SUBSEQUENT EDITIONS WHICH DO NOT FORM PART OF CAVALIERI (EXCEPT NOS. 16, 29, 30) NOR VACCARIA.

I	II. ante 1694.	III. Calcografia.	IV. Subject.	V. Collection.	VI. Copied from	VII. Subject identical with	VIII. Present Locality.
1	26	26	'Apollo'	Villa Medici		Vacc. 42	Poggio Imperiale (D. ii. 90).
2	31	31	Hercules	Card. Ferrara[1] (Este)			? (Fig. 9).
3	34	34	Hercules and the Lion	Villa Medici	Vacc 67[2]	De Cav. iii. iv. 41	Villa Medici : M.-D. 3560 (Fig. 10).
4	35	35	Hercules	Garden of Card. da Carpi[3]			H. 26.
5	36	36	Bacchus	Valle			Florence : R. i. 383.6 (reversed).[4]
6	38	38	Silenus with infant Bacchus	Cesarini[5]	Vacc. 57	De Cav. iii. iv. 76	Naples 253 (6022).
7	40	40	Apollo (Daphnis)	Villa Medici	Vacc. 41 (reversed)		Florence, Uffizi 205.[6]
8	41	41	Faun	Borghese		Vacc. 75 De Cav. iii. iv. 88	Villa Borghese : Helbig ii.^{3} 1531.
9	42	42	Faun	?	Vacc. 78		?
10	49	49	Aesculapius	Massimi[7]			?
11	53	53	Tiber	Vatican		De Cav. i. ii. 2 Vacc. 49	Louvre, Cat. Somm. 593.
12	54	54	Nile	"		De Cav, i. ii. 3 Vacc. 50	Vatican, Braccio Nuovo 109.
13	57	57	'Tigris'	"			" Croce Greca 600.
14	58	58	'Cleopatra'	"		De Cav. i. ii. 6 Vacc. 47	" Gall. Stat 414.
15	59	59	Nymph	Garden of Card. da Carpi[8]			H. 27. (Palazzo Barberini in 1738.)
16	60	60[9]	Thalia	"			H. 80. Museo Torlonia 216.
17	61	61	Anchyrroe[10]	"			H. 31. ?
18	64	64	Horse Tamers	Quirinal	=Vacc. *Ornamenti*, Pl. 12[11]		Quirinal.
19	65	65	" ('opus Praxitelis')	"	Q. 201[12]	De Cav. i. ii. 90, 89 Vacc. 17. 18	"
20	66	66	" ('opus Phidiae')	"			"
21	70	70	Ganymede	Villa Medici	Vacc. 45		Florence, Uffizi 88
22	72	72	'Cupido cogitabundus'	" ?	Vacc. 64		?
23	125	93	(draped female)	Borghese			? (Fig. 11).
24	83	83	Marforio (in niche)[13]	Capitol	Large engraving by Van Aelst (1600)	De Cav. i. ii. 94	Capitol, Cortile 1 (Fig. 16).

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[1] This may be the statue mentioned in the inventory of 1568 (*Doc. Ined.* ii. p. 159; H. 62) as in the 'statuario in mano di Maestro Maturino'—'Un Hercole in piedi nudo con frutti nella man manca et nella destra tiene un pezzo di bastone è manco del naturale' (Fig. 9). It passed later on to the Medici collection. This plate and No. 26 occur in a fragmentary copy of Cav. i (*supra* i. 1. a–c) in my collection, and though not belonging to it, are very likely contemporary with it, as are also Nos. 25, 27.

[2] We first find this figure in the Valle collection, then in a sculptor's shop,—one Pietro, to whom it had doubtless been entrusted for repair; for though Vaccaria shows the group (a relief) restored, the legs were in part missing (Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 229, No. 31). Matz-Duhn wrongly say that this engraving is reversed.

[3] Youthful Hercules with apples of the Hesperides (Aldrovandi, 299). The plate must be anterior to the Cardinal's death in 1564.

[4] See also Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891), p. 229, No. 32; Pierre Jacques, f. 70 bis.

[5] Really in the Farnese collection by this time (cf. De Cav. *cit.*) [6] Michaelis, *Jahrb. d. Inst.* vi. (1891). p. 235, N. 158.

[7] The original legend was *Aesculapius statua marmorea: in Aedibus de Maximis* was added in 1645 (?). It is not Matz-Duhn 52 (R. ii. 38. 7) and the addition may be an error. [8] Sleeping Nereid (Aldrovandi, 299). [9] This and Nos. 29, 30 belong to Cav. i. (*supra*, p. 112 n.). The original name was *Thalia*: in 1645 (?) it was altered to *Nympha* (Fig. 15). [10] Statue pouring water from a vase, with arms bare (Aldrovandi, 300).

[11] This collection was published in 1600, under the title of *Ornamenti di fabbriche antiche* (*supra*, p. 127). The plate is first found in the 1619 edition.

[12] See Michaelis, *Röm. Mitt.* xiii. (1898), p. 260, n. 70; 264, n. 81.

[13] The representation is entirely different from that in De Cav. i. ii. 94, which shows the statue in its old position, in front of S. Martina. This plate was used, from 1645 onwards, as the title page to Bo k II. A similar but different plate will be found in the *Ornamenti di Fabbriche Antiche* (Pl. 20).

25	100	100	Ceres[1]	Card. Ferrara			? (Fig. 1
26	102	102	,, (another)[2]	,,			?
27	104	104	VILIA HAGNE[3]	?			?
28	118	118	(draped female)	Borghese			Palazzo Borghese : **M.-D.** 1486.
29	136	129	(,, headless)[4]	Garden of Card. da Carpi			H. 93.
30	138	131	(,, another)[5]	,,			H. 92.
31			Laocoon	Vatican	Vacc. 48[6]	De Cav. i. ii 1	Vatican, Belvedere 74.
32			Bull[7]	Farnese	Q. 191	{ ,, iii. iv. 3 Vacc. 21 }	Naples 260 (6002).
33	117	8	Leda	Borghese		De Cav. iii. iv. 25	? R. ii. 416. 6 (reversed).
34		8	Venus and Cupid	(Dosio)[9]	Vacc. 65 (reversed)	,, ,, 70	? R. ii. 349. 6.
35		8	Satyr and Daphnis	Cesi	Vacc. 37 (reversed)	,, i. ii. 22	Ludovisi 4 (Schreiber) ; Terme 190 (8571).
36		10	Pallas[11]				

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[1] No. 25. *Cererre statua marmorea in horti Car. Ferrarie.*

It is not the same statue as Cav. i. ii., 45, nor does either this or No. 26 correspond absolutely with the description we have of the statue of Ceres at the Villa d'Este (*Archaeologia*, cit. p. 246, No. 44) which ought to have a diadem and a single garment, attached above by a scarf, and covering her from the right shoulder to below the left breast : in the raised left hand was a torch, while the right was outstretched. (No. 25 holds a cornucopiae in the left hand, and a flower in the outstretched right : she is fully draped, with an upper garment from the left shoulder to below the right breast. Her hair is drawn together by a slender circlet. No. 26 holds a torch in the right hand. and an uncertain object in the left : she wears a highgirt chiton with diplois, and her hair is gathered together by a circlet, and curls fall on her shoulders). Nor does the description tally absolutely with H. 65 (a statue of a 'Province' with a cornucopiae in the left hand, and a patera in the right : and it is no doubt the draped Fortune ('Copia vestita') H. 30.

Inasmuch as five statues were transferred from the Belvedere to the collection of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este in 1566 (Hulsen, p. 95) we may identify, if we wish, these two statues of Ceres with two of the three bought by Pius IV. in 1561-5 (*Capitoline Catalogue*, p. 374).

[2] No. 26. *Cerrere marmorea in horti Car. Ferrarie.* See on No. 25.

[3] No. 27. Female statue, draped (with veil over head, right elbow bent and covered by drapery : left hand holding poppy projects from drapery), standing on base bearing the inscription—

VILIA HAGNE LIBERTA
VXOR C. PATRONI

C.I.L. vi. 28953—from Milesius, *Cod. Ferrar.* i. 144 : this engraving is cited in the addenda. The locality is not given ; and the inscription may have been taken from the engraving. I am strongly inclined to suspect some connexion between it and *C.I.L.* vi. 3130* MATER VILLA FAGNAE which Boissard places under a female statue with cornucopiae (*Topographia* vi. Pl. 56) which he saw in the Villa Papa Giulio.

[4] No. 29. *Statua incognita ibidem.*

In the first edition, as already noticed, it comes after 16, and should therefore belong to the Carpi collection ; and I think it may be identified with H. 93 (a female statue with upper and under garment, without head and arms).

[5] No. 30. *Statua alia incognita e marmore ibidem.*

This may similarly be identified with H. 92 (a female statue, without head and arms, leaning against a tree trunk—which is hidden by her body in the engraving—with her legs crossed) which stood close to No. 29 in the *pergolato* of the Giardino Carpi.

[6] A close copy, but a different plate ; it does not appear after 1619.

[7] No. 32. This is a copy from the same original as that of Vaccaria 21—a large engraving, with the signature C.R.F. (for which see Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, ii , No. 630) after a drawing by Eugenio Bianchi of Piacenza, dedicated to Cardinal Alessandro Farnese by Giulio Roberti, of Borgo San Sepolcro, in 1579, with the additional imprint *Laurentium Vaccariam Formis Romae* 1580 (Lafrery. Q. 191). The Plate does not appear after 1619.

[8] The destruction of these three plates is no doubt due to their subject : cf. p. 144. Nos. 34, 35 cannot be traced after 1619.

[9] It bears the legend *Veneris et Cupidinis statua marmorea in aedibus cuiusdam mercatoris Florentini in banchis* : cf. Vacc. 65.

[0] This plate cannot be traced after 1619.

[11] The statue bears the following legend :—

EXEMPLAR
ÆNEI PALLADII
QVOD APVD LEMANVM
LACVM IN CONSTREDO
CIRCA VERZOIṼ AGGERE
SER ALLOBROGVM DV
CIS AVGVRIO FOELICI
DEFOSSVM EXTITIT

Cf. *supra*, p. 138. I cannot trace the statue.

TABLE 6. LIST OF PLATES AT THE CALCOGRAFIA.

NOTE—i. ; i. ii. ; iii. iv. refer to the various parts of Cavalieri.

I.	II.	I.	II.	I.	II.
1	Title (III. B. 5. *supra*, p. 144)	45	i. ii. 86	89	iii. iv. 36
2	i. ii. 84	46	iii. iv. 72	90	i. 23
3	i. 1	47	iii. iv. 82	91	i. 26
4	i. 2	48	iii. iv. 4	92	i. 25
5	i. 3	49	γ 10	93	γ 23
6	i. 14	50	i. 20	94	i. ii. 65
7	i. 15	51	i. 21	95	i. ii. 52
8	i. 46	52	i. ii. 93	96	i. 17
9	i. ii. 99	53	γ 11	97	i. ii. 51
10	i. ii. 100	54	γ 12	98	i. 6
11	iii. iv. 91	55	i. 44	99	i. ii. 44
12	i. ii. 72	56	i. 43	100	γ 25
13	i. ii. 71	57	γ 13	101	i. ii. 67
14	iii. iv. 94	58	γ 14	102	γ 26
15	iii. iv. 93	59	γ 15	103	i. ii. 77
16	i. 42	60	γ 16	104	γ 27
17	i. 45	61	γ 17	105	i. 4
18	i. 36	62	iii, iv. 60	106	iii. iv. 71
19	iii. iv. 92	63	iii. iv. 59	107	i. 19
20	i. 7	64	γ 18	108	i. 11
21	i. ii. 63	65	γ 19	109	i. ii. 33
22	iii. iv. 28	66	γ 20	110	i. ii. 82
23	iii. iv. 27	67	i. ii. 73	111	i. ii. 80
24	i. ii. 4	68	i. ii. 98	112	i. ii. 81
25	i. ii. 37	69	i. ii. 95	113	i. ii. 83
26	γ 1	70	γ 21	114	iii. iv. 18
27	i. ii. 85	71	iii. iv. 62	115	iii. iv. 17
28	iii. iv. 29	72	γ 22	116	iii. iv. 10
29	i. 5	73	i. ii. 74	117	i. ii. 24
30	i. 9	74	i. ii. 97	118	γ 28
31	γ 2	75	i. ii. 28	119	i. 24
32	i. ii. 71	76	i. ii. 92	120	i. 12
33	i. ii. 75	77	i. 8	121	i. ii. 17
34	γ 3	78	i. ii. 1	122	i. ii. 7
35	γ 4	79	iii. iv. 3	123	iii. iv. 44
36	γ 5	80	iii. iv. 95	124	i. ii. 11
37	iii. iv. 74	81	i. ii. 79	125	i. ii. 14
38	γ 6	82	i. ii. 5	126	i. 13
39	i. 22	83	γ 24 (Title of Book II. *supra*, p. 140)	127	i. ii. 64
40	γ 7	84	iii. iv. 1	128	i. ii. 18
41	γ 8	85	i. ii. 12	129	γ 29
42	γ 9	86	i. 28	130	i. ii. 91
43	i. ii. 87	87	i. 33	131	γ 30
44	i. ii. 62	88	i. 18	132	i. 16
				133	i. ii. 66

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
Vol. IX. No. 6.

THE PORTRAITS OF THE POPES.

By The Rt. Rev. Mgr. H. K. MANN, D.D.

The Papal Busts at Siena

Of late years it would appear that the subject of Papal Iconography has been singularly neglected; nor as far as we are aware has the subject been at all exhaustively treated in any monograph. Yet if its claim to importance calls for justification, it should suffice to quote the following passage in which J. A. Symonds records the impression made upon him by the busts of the Popes (Fig. 1) which adorn the walls of the Duomo of Siena:

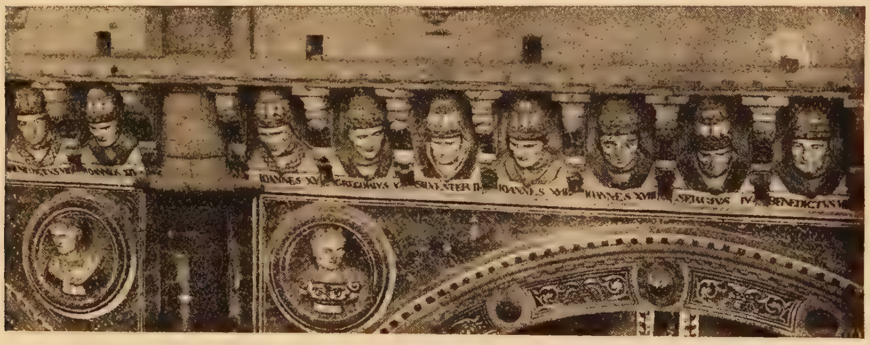

Fig. 1.—Papal Busts in the Duomo of Siena.

> 'One most remarkable feature' he wrote 'of the Duomo of Siena is a line of heads of the Popes carried all round the church above the lower arches. Larger than life, white solemn faces, they lean each from his separate niche, crowned

with the triple tiara, and labelled with the name he bore. Their accumulated majesty brings the whole past history of the Church into the presence of its living members. A bishop walking up the nave of Siena must feel as a Roman felt among the waxen images of ancestors renowned in council or in war. Of course these portraits are imaginary for the most part, but the artists have contrived to vary their features and expression with great skill.'[1]

It is admitted that these busts were all formed on four or five models merely for decorative purposes; and so slight is their artistic or historical value that their removal was once under consideration. Yet if the sight of them could so move the author of the *History of the Renaissance in Italy*, it is obvious that an inquiry into the authenticity of other series which are of greater authority might produce results of considerable historical significance. For, though the fact does not appear to be generally known, there are in Rome and other cities of Italy several more or less complete series of likenesses of the Popes, which we will examine in order.

Papal Portraits: (1) in the *Archivium* of St. Peter's

In the library of the *Archivium* of St. Peter's in Rome there is a small modern series of oil paintings of all those Popes who had at one time been canons of St. Peter's. This collection also is of no particular value. The portraits of the more recent Pontiffs, authentic it is true, but not striking works of art, may be seen elsewhere, and those of the more remote ones are devoid of any great interest as they have no special claim to consideration on historic or artistic grounds.[2]

(2) In S. Pier in Grado

Of more importance is the series in the fine old church of S. Pier in Grado, a few miles outside the city of Pisa. When the ancient basilica (the name of which recalled the tradition of the landing of St. Peter in the neighbourhood) was decorated in the thirteenth century, the scheme included a set of medallions of the Popes. These, extending from St. Peter, certainly to John XIV. († 985), some ninety-six in all, were placed in the frieze above the columns of the nave, and presented a series, not, however, consecutive, of portraits of Popes who reigned from the first to the eleventh century. Seemingly in the course of the fourteenth century there were added the portraits of John XXII.,

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[1] *Sketches in Italy*, p. 39, ed. Tauchnitz, 1882.

[2] Similarly with regard to such small collections as the series of ten mosaic medallions of Popes in the Church of St. Agnes outside-the-walls. If they have artistic worth they have no historic interest. Much more of the latter have the frescoes in the gallery to the right of the old Vatican library—frescoes illustrating what Nicholas V., Sixtus IV., Paul V., Pius VI. and Pius VII. did for the Library and for Rome generally; and much more of the former the series of Popes in the Sixtine chapel. Cf. Steinmann, *Die Sixtinische Kapelle*, p. 197. Nor is any historic value to be attached to the series in stucco of the early Popes in the vestibule of St. Peter's.

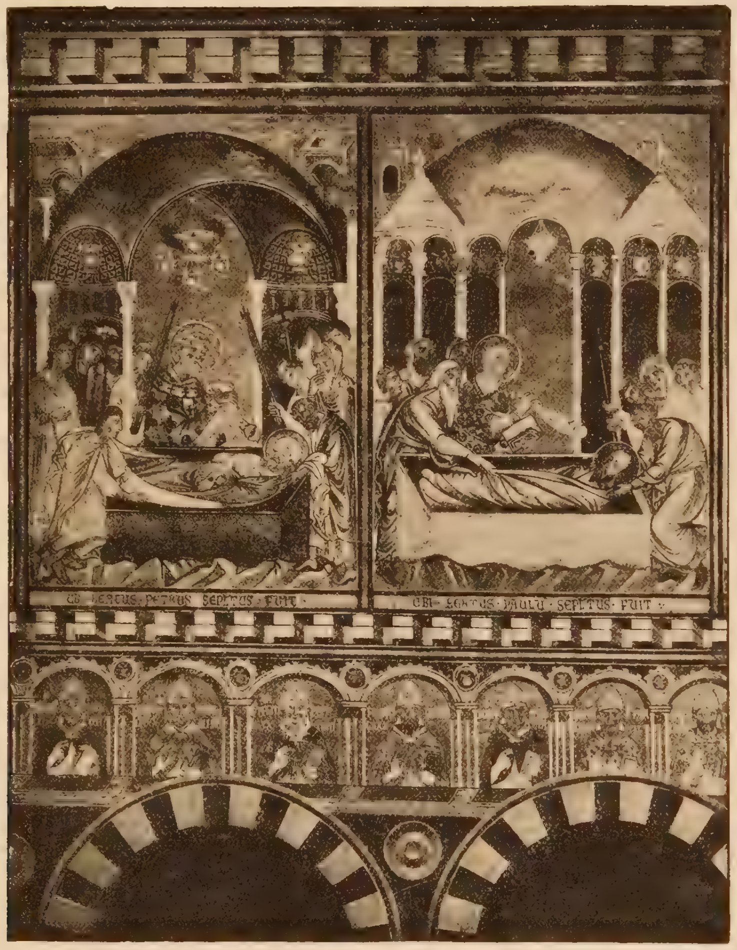
UBI BEATUS PETRUS SEPLTUS FUIT
UBI BEATUS PAULU SEPLTUS FUIT

FIG. 2.—FRESCO SHOWING PAPAL PORTRAITS IN S. PIER IN GRADO NEAR PISA.

Benedict XII. and Clement VI. who reigned from 1305 to 1352. As the style and execution of these frescoes are inferior, they do not contribute much to history or to art (Fig. 2).[1]

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[1] Cf. J. B. Supino, *Arte Pisana*, p. 4 ff. and 257 ff. Firenze, 1904. Figs. 2, 7, 8, 9, 12 are reproduced after illustrations in Mann's *Lives of the Popes* from blocks kindly lent by the publishers.

(3) In Oriolo A complete, but much more recent series exists in the little town of Oriolo not far from Sutri. Its ancient palazzo was in the year 1671 acquired by Prince Altieri. In that year an Altieri, in the person of Clement X., sat in the chair of Peter (1670–6), and he presented to his nephew copies of the portraits of the Popes in the basilica of St. Paul's outside-the-walls. The Prince enlarged the palace at Oriolo, and built a long gallery especially to receive the portraits. His descendants have continued the series up to our own times. As a whole, this large collection of portraits in oil is in very good condition, though a few of them are fading; and, after the fire which destroyed St. Paul's in 1823, it was used as one of the sources from which the series in the new Pauline basilica was formed. By the side of each of the portrait busts at Oriolo are inscribed the name of the Pope, the dates of his accession and death, and certain facts regarding his Pontificate taken from the *Liber Pontificalis* and other authorities. Moreover, though armorial bearings did not come into general use till the twelfth century,[1] *all* the Popes, including St. Peter, are supplied with coats of arms. In like manner, although the ecclesiastical pallium was not known before the sixth century, all the Popes are represented as wearing it. This last fact, together with the fact that Pope Sylvester (314–337) is represented wearing a tiara with one crown,[2] would seem to show that the earlier portraits were copied from the lower series in St. Paul's painted by order of Nicholas III. in the thirteenth century.[3] It will then be seen that these earlier portraits which, like the rest, are life-sized and well painted, have no more historical value than the series executed by Nicholas. Those after the time of that Pontiff (1277–81) have practically the same degree of authenticity as that possessed by the series in St. Paul's of which we shall speak at length presently.[4]

(4) In Marino In the little town of Marino in the Alban Hills there is preserved in the ancient palazzo of the Colonna family (now used as the Municipio of

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[1] The oldest coat of arms known (that of Desiderio, abbot of Montecassino, afterwards Pope Victor III. (1086–7) has recently been discovered in the older church of S. Crisogono in Rome (Pasini-Frassoni in *Rivista Araldica*, 1914, 419: quoted in *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* xxi. (1915), 64). T. A.

[2] The Popes did not wear a crown till centuries after the time of Sylvester I.

[3] Of this series more will be said in the sequel.

[4] Cf. G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana*, iii. p. 88.

the town), a collection of oil paintings which give in chronological order life-size portrait busts of all the Popes 'from St. Peter to the reigning pontiff, Gregory XVI. (1831–46).' See Oreste Raggi, *Sui Colli Albani e Tusculani* (Rome, 1844), p. 230. He says also that the collection was much increased in value in consequence of the fire at St. Paul's (1823). It is in its general characteristics much the same as that at Oriolo, and, like it, derives what importance it has from the fact that it was copied from the series at St. Paul's before it was burnt to the ground.[1]

(5) In Rome

At one time there were in Rome three extensive series of papal portraits. There was one in old St. Peter's, another in St. John Lateran, and the third, the most famous of all, on which our study mainly turns, in St. Paul's outside-the-walls.

(*a*) In old St. Peter's

Of the series in the old Constantinian basilica of St. Peter's no specimens are known to exist now; but the antiquaries of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Alfarano, Grimaldi and Ciampini, who described the ancient church, have left us a number of notes regarding them. At what date portraits of Popes began to be used to decorate the walls of Constantine's basilica below the Vatican hill does not appear to be known for certain. But it would seem that John VII. (705–8), a name well known in the history of art in Rome, was certainly responsible for the painting of a number of papal portraits in Rome.[2] However this may be, it is certain that the most important series in the old basilica was the work of Pope Formosus (891–6),[3] who, as bishop of Porto, was so beloved by the Bulgarians. The series of Formosus was painted in fresco above the cornice. It was briefly described by Grimaldi before its destruction by Paul V. in 1607 in the course of the erection of the present wonderful structure on the site of the old basilica. According to this same antiquarian, Benedict XII. had had thoughts of restoring it with the aid of Giotto, but had been prevented by death from doing much in the way of renovation.[1] Chronological inscriptions had originally accompanied the portraits, but, unfortunately, only a few could be deciphered by Grimaldi. He could only read: 'Siricius sedit an. xv. m. v. d. xx.,' and one or two more; but both he and Ciampini have left us designs showing exactly where the portrait medallions were situated.[2]

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[1] In the MS. of vol. iv. of the work quoted in the last note shown me by its author, who is continuing his father's authoritative volumes on the Roman Campagna, Sig. F. Tomassetti states that in his opinion, if the collection at Marino is not so well preserved, it is more valuable, because more beautiful than that at Oriolo.

[2] Of him we read in the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. p. 385, ed. Duchesne) that he made 'imagines' in various churches, and left portraits of himself in St. Peter's and elsewhere. 'Quicunque nosse desiderat in eis ejus vultum depictum reperiet.' Cf. Marangoni, *Chron. Rom. Pont.* p. v. Rome, 1751.

[3] According to the very uncultured chronicler, Benedict of Soracte: 'Renovavit Formosus Papa aecclesiâ principis apostolorum pictura tota.' Ap. *Mon. Germ. Hist.* ii. 714 or Watterich, *Vit. Pont. Rom.* i. 80.

To the series of Pope Formosus, one of his successors, Nicholas III. (1277–81), who during his short pontificate caused a considerable amount of artistic work to be executed, added a third. Ptolemy of Lucca tells us that he almost renewed St. Peter's, and painted therein, as well as in St. John Lateran and St. Paul's, a series of papal portraits.[3]

When the present Vatican basilica was begun, the western portion of the old church was the first to be demolished under Pope Julius II. (1503–13); but a temporary wall was erected near the high altar, and the eastern portion was kept for divine worship during the whole of the sixteenth century. Now the lower series of portraits painted to the order of Nicholas III., the one immediately above the capitals of the columns, began with that of Pius I. (158–167) on the wall on the right as one entered the basilica near the temporary wall and the high altar. On this side were eleven portraits from Pius I. to Cornelius (254–5), the portrait of Pope Anicetus being omitted.[4] After observing that the portrait of Cornelius was above 'the African column,' Grimaldi, to whom we owe this description, says that on the eastern wall, *i.e.*, on the interior of the façade, were the portraits of the successors of Cornelius, namely, those of Lucius I. and of his eight immediate successors. 'Above another column of African marble' was to be seen the portrait of Pope Eusebius which began the series on the left side wall of the nave. It finished with the bust of Anastasius I. (399–402). Our antiquarian adds that all the Popes to Sylvester I. were depicted as bareheaded, but that

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[1] Cf. E. Müntz, *Recherches sur le MSS. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 247 ff.

[2] Cf. Ciampini, *De sacris ædificiis*, Tav. XI. p. 34, in which the letters A. B. C. D. show the position of the portraits above the cornice. See also Tav. X. in the same work (reproduced in Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 134).

[3] 'Hic ecclesiam b. Petri quasi totam renovavit, et numerum Summorum Pontificum fecit describi secundum imagines, in ecclesia b. Petri in loco eminenti et b. Pauli ac S. Joannis de Laterano.' *Hist. Eccles.* l. xxiii. c. 28, ap. *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. xi. p. 1180. Cf. Alfarano, *De basil. Vat. struct.* p. 20, Rome, 1914.

[4] Cf. the description of Grimaldi, ap. MS. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 2733, fol. 106 v. ff.

that Pope and those after him were depicted as wearing a tiara with a single crown. All, too, were represented with a round halo with the exception of Pope Liberius (352–366) who was given a square one in order to show that he was not regarded as a saint.[1] With the further observation of the antiquarian canon of old St. Peter's to the effect that in the upper and more ancient series all the Popes were depicted with uncovered heads and the round nimbus, we may cease any further discussion of the papal portraits in that venerable basilica. Even if many of them were real likenesses, they can be of no service to us now as not even copies of them have been preserved.

(*b*) In St. John Lateran

The same has to be said of the series painted by Nicholas III. in the basilica of St. John Lateran. During the residence of the Popes at Avignon (1305–78)—a period as disastrous to the artistic as to the civil life of Rome—the famous basilica was twice burnt (1307 and 1361).[2] The two conflagrations were followed by restorations: and the third and last reconstruction under Innocent X. in 1644 destroyed all hope of our being able to study the series of portraits in St. John Lateran. Hence as far back as 1756, N. Alemanni when speaking of such likenesses of Popes as he had seen in the Lateran makes no mention of any series of papal portraits;[3] and even before the restoration of Borromini (1599–1667), Panvinio not merely fails to speak of any such series, but observes that many of the pictures in the basilica and in its porticoes had faded.[4]

(*c*) In St. Paul's

Hitherto we have been considering different series of papal portraits that are either incomplete or have obviously no claim to be regarded as authentic. There is, however, a series, that at St. Paul's, which is, at least, absolutely complete, embracing all the Popes from St. Peter to the reigning Pontiff, Pope Benedict XV., and which may be called official.

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[1] From the fact that Liberius has a square nimbus, Lanciani (*Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 209) concludes that at least a part of this series was painted when Liberius (by a printer's error called Tiberius) was Pope. But the use of the square nimbus to denote a living person did not come into vogue in the West till the close of the sixth century, and it is here given to Liberius to show that he was not a saint, and yet at the same time to conform to the custom of the age of putting some mark round portrait heads in churches. Cf. Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 88.

[2] Cf. *Ep. Clement. V.* ap. *Bullar. Rom.* iv. 186, ed. Turin; G. Villani, viii. 97 and Mat. Villani, x. 69. See Rohault de Fleury, *Le Latran*, §52 and §56, Paris, 1877.

[3] *De Lateranensibus Parietinis*, p. 26, Rome, 1756.

[4] *Sette Chiese*, p. 149, Rome, 1570. F. Cancellieri, *Cod. Vat. Lat.* n. 9672, f. 45, says that Pope Paschal I. (817–24) painted a series of papal portraits in the Church of Sta. Cecilia above the capitals of the columns from St. Peter to his own time; and there was once in the Church of Sta. Pudenziana a series from St. Peter to Cornelius. Cf. L. Giampaoli, *Il nuovo prospetto di S. Pudenziana*, p. 44 (Rome, 1872).

The Authenticity of the Portraits in St. Paul's

In gazing at this long line of portrait medallions, one naturally wonders whether the features at which one looks are really those of the Popes to whom they are there assigned, or whether they are merely the creations of artists' fancies. (Pl. XXIV.). There can be no doubt that at least the portraits from Martin V. (1417–31) onwards are genuine. Although, as we shall see more fully presently, only the mosaics from Leo XII. (1823–9) are contemporary with the Popes they depict, the artists who after 1823 made the present series of portraits in St. Paul's had abundance of reliable material for the Pontiffs of that period to work with. From the time of Martin V. papal portraits, executed in every variety of material and style,[1] have come down to us from the contemporary brush or chisel of the greatest masters. Their likenesses, certainly since his days, have not merely, as in the previous ages, been frescoed on walls, and wrought in marble, but, with the more expressive colours in oil, they have been committed to canvas. When the artists of the last century had such models as 'Sixtus IV.,' by Melozzo da Forli, 'Alexander VI.' by Pinturicchio, 'Julius II.' by Raphael, 'Paul III.' by Titian, and 'Innocent X.' by Velasquez, we need have no fear that the medallions in St. Paul's do not tell us truly what manner of men have been the Popes since the fifteenth century. From Martin V., too, the authentic series of papal medals begins. Under that Pontiff worked Antonio (generally, but wrongly, spoken of as Vittore) Pisanello, if not the first, certainly the greatest of modern medallists; and we are assured by Vasari, on the authority of Giovio, that he made a medal of Martin himself.[1] Unfortunately it is not now in existence, and some believe that Giovio was mistaken in ascribing his medal of Martin V. to Pisanello.[2] However it may be as to the medals of Martin V. and Eugenius IV., medals of their successor, Nicholas V. by his contemporary, Guazzalotti, are extant; and even if other original medals of the Quattrocento, besides those of Martin V. and Eugenius IV., have been lost, we have those of G. Paladino. About the end of the sixteenth century he produced a complete series ot medals from Martin V. to Pius V. († 1572).[3] In striking his series he used as models the original contemporary medals or authentic copies of them, ' so that his pieces, as far at least as the likeness of the portrait is concerned, deserve consideration.'[4] For Martin V., too, Paladino had not only an authentic medal to work from, but also a large statue of him made for Milan Cathedral by Jacopino da Tradate,[5] and the portrait of him which Facio says that Gentile di Fabriano painted ' to the very life.'[5] For the likeness of Eugenius IV., the successor of Martin V., there was at his service his portrait by the French artist, Jean Fouquet, and for both these Popes he had their finely sculptured recumbent figures upon their tombs—that of Martin V. in St. John Lateran, and that of Eugenius IV. in S. Salvatore in Lauro by Isaia of Pisa.[6] Similar facts could be given regarding all the successors of Martin V. to our own days, so that we may be sure that the mosaics of the Popes in St. Paul's from that Pontiff to Benedict XV. present us with their true likenesses.

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[1] To the sources for the more modern portraits of the Popes mentioned in the text, we may add their effigies on their coins, and engravings which came into vogue during the lifetime of Martin V. Among the many plates of the well-known Italian engraver, G. B. Cavalieri (b. 1525(?), d. at Rome, 1601) were a series of heads of the Popes which were first published in 1580. As he reproduced what existing pictures he could find, it is believed that he has occasionally at least saved for us an authentic portrait of a Pope who lived long before his time. For his Popes of the first centuries, he, like most of the early artists, copied the lower and more accessible series of portraits painted in old St. Peter's and St. Paul's by Nicholas III. The anonymous Italian copper-plate engraver who signed his plates with the initials AR Z, and who lived in the second half of the sixteenth century, also published many good engravings at the very end of that age of various Popes (Nagler, *Monogrammisten*, i. No. 1217).

The Frescoes of old St. Paul's

But what is to be said of the authenticity of the portraits from St. Peter to John XXIII. and Gregory XII., the last two Popes of the great Schism, the predecessors of Martin V.? To reply to this difficult query, we must begin by first considering the papal portraits in old St. Paul's, upon which all question of the authenticity of the earlier portraits of the present series mainly turns. As in old St. Peter's so also, as we have already noted, in old St. Paul's there was a series of papal medallions; and, when in 1823 the latter venerable basilica was burnt down, this series of portraits in fresco or in mosaic from St. Peter to Pius VII. (1800–1823) was complete.[1] As also in old St. Peter's some

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[1] See Vasari's *Life of Pisanello*. Giovio asserts that he had the medal in his possession.

[2] Cf. G. F. Hill, *Pisanello*, London, 1903, and Venturi's ed. of Vasari's *Pisanello*, p. 71, Firenze, 1896.

[3] The British Museum series of papal medals begins with that of Martin V. whose medal is the first given in such books as the *Trésor de Numismatique, Médailles des Papes*, Paris, 1878, and *Numismata Pont. Rom.* by P. Bonanni, Rome, 1699, which give reproductions of authentic medals only.

[4] C. von Fabriczy, *Italian Medals*, ed. Hamilton, p. 195, London, 1904.

[5] Cf. Michel, *Hist. de l'Art*, iv. pt. ii. p. 176. Venturi in his ed. of Vasari's *Life* ot Gentile, p. 19, Florence, 1896, gives this quotation from Facio's *De viris illust.* Florence, 1745. There was also the portrait by Masaccio. Cf. Vasari, ii. p. 294, ed. Milanesi.

[6] Cf. Geffroy, *Les ruines de Rome*, pp. 373, 386 n. See R. F. von Lichtenberg, *Das porträt an Grabdenkmälen*, Strassburg, 1902.

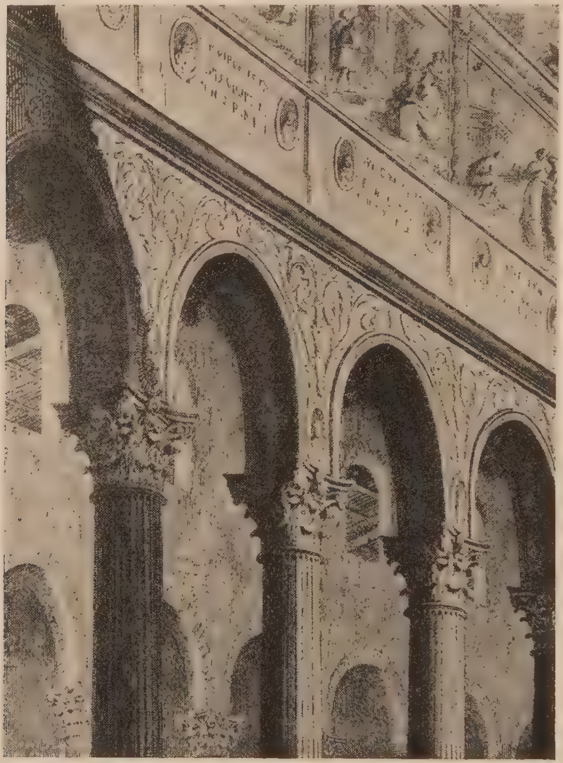

FIG. 3.—THE PAPAL MEDALLIONS IN OLD ST. PAUL'S AT ROME.
(From ROSSINI, *Antichità Romane.*)

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[1] All the portraits were in fresco up to Benedict XIV., and in mosaic from that Pontiff to Pius VII., as I am told by Dom C. Villani, one of the monks of St. Paul's, who got his information from older monks who were acquainted with the basilica before it was destroyed by fire.

of these medallions were immediately above the capitals of the columns, while the older ones were above the cornice (Fig. 3). Fortunately, before the fire, copies had been made of some of the medallions in the seventeenth century, and of all of them in the eighteenth. In the seventeenth century (1634) copies of seventy-eight portraits of the upper series from Linus to Vitalian were made by Grimaldi to the order of Cardinal F. Barberini, nephew of Pope Urban VIII. They are now to be found in *Codex Barberini Lat.* n. 4407, in the Vatican library. In the same codex are also copies of forty portraits of the lower series of Nicholas III. from Anacletus to Boniface I. Over a century later, Marangoni published copies of all the portraits, but unfortunately, very inaccurately.[1]

Portraits saved from the Fire

After the fire in 1823, it was discovered that forty-two of the medallions of the upper series on the south wall were to a greater or less extent uninjured. They were the portraits from St. Peter to Innocent I. inclusive. Four medallions of the lower series above the capitals of the columns were also left uninjured; but as the inscriptions that belonged to them were destroyed, it seems to be impossible now to decide to which Popes they should be assigned. Mgr. Wilpert in his latest work has given photographic reproductions of all the four, and, from four consecutive copies in *Codex Barberini*, 4407, has identified them as portraits of Anacletus, Alexander I., Sixtus I. and Telesphorus.[2] But it is difficult to see any resemblance between the Barberini copy of Pope Anacletus and the portrait assigned to him by Wilpert. His conjecture as to the portrait which he assigns to Pope Alexander may be correct. With regard to the remaining two originals which he assigns to Sixtus I. and Telesphorus, we note that there are no crosses depicted upon their palliums. Now in the copies only two Popes are given palliums without crosses. These are Victor I. and Callistus I., and so these two may be the Popes whose portraits Wilpert has assigned to Sixtus I. and Telesphorus. But it must be confessed that this detail of the crosses on the palliums is but slight; and so, in view of the difficulty of detecting a resemblance between the originals and any of the copies, it is safer to say that it is impossible to identify these four portraits now in the museum of the monastery of St. Paul's.

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[1] *Chronologia Rom. Pont.* Rome, 1751. He was primarily interested in chronology, and not in portraiture. The copies made in the same century, and now kept at Oriolo and Marino, have already been described.

[2] Jos. Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malerein der Kirchlichen Bauten*, vol. ii. pp. 518–9, Figs. 214–7, Freiburg-im-Breisgau, 1916. We may note here that in vol. iv. Fig. 219 ff. there are a number of *coloured* engravings of the original forty portraits in St. Paul's. By some mistake, surely, the portraits after Telesphorus are assigned to Pope Formosus.

The Portraits saved from the Fire were transferred to the Monastery of St. Paul's

All the forty-six portraits that were not destroyed by the fire were cleverly transferred from the wall on to canvas by Pellegrino Succi in 1825, and then re-transferred to plaster. Afterwards the larger ones were erected by De Rossi in one of the corridors of the adjoining monastery. Unfortunately, in the course of the process of detachment or soon after its completion two of the forty-two large portraits perished, namely, those of Eleutherius (177–192) and Dionysius (259–269). Hence, though now in the corridor there are forty-one *plaques*, 1·34 metres square, one is quite blank, so that there are only forty portraits, and of the portrait of St. Peter only half of the face is now to be seen.[1]

With the aid of the inscriptions which accompanied the portraits, De Rossi was able to identify and so to place in their proper chronological order thirty-four out of the forty. But, owing to the illegibility of some of the inscriptions, it cannot be said that numbers 29, 32, 33, 37 and 39 have been certainly identified with Popes Caius, Eusebius, Melchiades, Liberius and Damasus respectively. Moreover, while it is certain that the two portraits numbered 36 and 38 are those of Julius I. and Felix II., it is uncertain which of the two should be assigned to Julius and which to Felix.[2]

The other Series of Early Portraits

The lower series of portraits from Anacletus to Boniface I. painted by Nicholas III., even if they were originally copied faithfully from the one above, obviously need not detain us. Of the originals only the four unidentified ones just mentioned are now extant, and the Barberini portraits, as inaccurate copies of copies, are of no account as likenesses. We call them inaccurate copies, because one cannot but suppose that they have not faithfully reproduced the features of portraits, when they have not even faithfully reproduced their garments. They have not merely added a circular nimbus to the heads they have copied, but also an ecclesiastical pallium adorned with crosses, to the garments. Suffice it then to add that even in Marangoni's time these medallions were in poor condition owing to the falling away of the plaster,[1] and that Nicholas III. got the number of forty-eight portraits by placing one over each of the forty columns of the nave and eight on the west wall.

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[1] Cf. Dom C. Villani, *Breve descrizione di S. Paolo*, p. 26 f. Rome, 1900. The portraits on the plaques, including the background within the circles that surround them, are about 90 centimetres broad and 100 centimetres long. The faces of the portraits are about twice the natural size.

[2] *Bullettino di Arch. Crist.* 1870, pp. 123–4. From this uncertainty the reader will perceive that the Barberini copies are not sufficiently accurate to enable them to be used to clear up a doubtful identification.

When was the Old Series painted?

Although the portrait of Innocent I. is the last of the early original papal medallions in old St. Paul's now extant, we possess Grimaldi's copies of the lost ones up to Pope Vitalian. We are not, however, in possession of any specific statement as to when the series or any part of it was painted. Nevertheless, it would seem certain that it cannot have been commenced later than the fifth century. Among Grimaldi's copies there appears, after the portrait of Pope Symmachus (498–514), that of a certain Laurentius (505–6). Now as this man was an antipope who for a brief period held against the last-named Pontiff all the great basilicas in Rome except St. Peter's, it cannot be doubted that his portrait was painted whilst he had control of St. Paul's, and that the portraits of the Popes before his time cannot be later than his pseudo-pontificate. Moreover, as it is scarcely probable that, in his short and troubled reign, he had leisure to inaugurate the whole series, it is natural to look for an earlier Pope as its author. Between the date of the building of St. Paul's and that of the pontificate of Laurentius, the only Pope whom history connects with the fabric of the basilica is Leo I. (440–461). Of him the *Liber Pontificalis* records not only that he repaired the famous church, but also that he caused paintings to be executed therein.[2] Taking into account also the sentiments of love and veneration for St. Peter and his successors to which Leo has given expression, we cannot be far wrong in saying that that great Pontiff had some connexion with the papal portraits we are now discussing. If he did not inaugurate the series, he doubtless continued it down to his own day.

When the Custom originated of placing Portraits in Churches

The custom of placing the portraits of bishops in their cathedral churches had been introduced at least a century before Leo's time. Merocles († 315), the first bishop of Milan known by authentic documents, is believed to have commenced this custom by putting into his cathedral the portrait of the first of its bishops, Anatolius (*c.* A.D. 55), of whom tradition had preserved the name.[1] Moreover, a mosaic pavement recently discovered at Aquileia, which lies about 1.50 metre below the level of the eleventh century basilica, and is shown by a dated inscription to belong to the time of bishop Theodore (who, it is known, subscribed a document of the year 314) contains four mosaic portraits.[2] And what is much more to our point is this fact, namely, that certainly, not long after this period, these portraits were real likenesses. That interesting ninth century author, Agnellus of Ravenna, after giving a description of the personal appearance of bishop Exuperantius (*c.* 425–30), says: 'should you ask me where I have learnt what I have written concerning the visages of the bishops, I reply that it is art (pictura) which has given me the information, because at this period it was the custom to delineate their portraits from life.'[3] We know, too, that in Rome during the fourth and fifth century, Popes Sylvester, Mark, Julius, Damasus and Celestine I. were building churches 'of remarkable size' (*mirae magnitudinis*), and were adorning them with mosaics and frescoes, and that historical subjects as well as sacred were depicted therein.[4] Further, when speaking of the pictures added by Leo the Great to the churches which he built or repaired, Pope Hadrian expressly states that three kinds of such pictures were then to be seen in St. Paul's. There were mosaics, *e.g.*, on the great arch, fresco paintings of the Old and New Testament, and below them 'imagines,' *i.e.*, the papal medallions,[5] wherein on a bluish background, surrounded by two, sometimes three, circles of yellow, dark red and blue-grey respectively, were the portrait busts of the Popes, generally in red and white only. All the figures are depicted as clad in a tunic with the red stripes (clavi) of dignity, and the dark pallium or ἱμάτιον thrown over the left shoulder, and covering the left arm, but leaving the right arm free.

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[1] Writing eight years before the burning of St. Paul's, Nicolai, *Della Basilica di S. Paolo* p. 30, Rome, 1815, also calls attention to the deplorable state of these frescoes, and says that it was recently decided to obliterate some of those on the south wall, and to begin a new series with 'the present Pope, Pius VII.'

[2] Vol. i. p. 239, ed. Duchesne.

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[1] Cf. Garrucci, *Storia dell'arte crist.* i. 437. One of his successors, Laurentius (490–512), caused portraits of himself and four of his predecessors to be put in the church of S. Nazarius. Cf. De Rossi, *Inscript. crist.* ii. p. 178, n.

[2] *Nuovo bullett. di arch. crist.* 1910, pp. 162–5. Cf. C. Constantini, *Aquileia e Grado*, pp. 11, 30–4.

[3] *Vit. pont.* p. 297, ed. *Mon. Germ. Hist.* 'Quia semper fiebant imagines suis temporibus ad illorum similitudinem.'

[4] See the letter of Pope Hadrian I. to Charlemagne regarding 'the image question,' ap. Migne, *Pat. Lat.* t. 98, p. 1285.

[5] *Ib.* cf. Marangoni, *Chron. Rom. Pont.* p. v.

Some of the Portraits of the Popes of the Fourth Century were probably painted in that Century

Examining once more the forty portraits in the monastery of St. Paul's, we can see at once that they can be divided into two classes, into those which precede that of Urban I., *i.e.*, those from St. Peter to Callistus I., and those which follow it. The first set are coarse, and bear unmistakable signs of having been very much retouched; while those from Urban I. to Innocent I., both inclusive, have been much less interfered with, are much more refined, and possess individual traits. We are indeed warned by certain authors[1] to beware of believing that there is any real individuality about these portraits; but in turn we are inclined to warn critics of them not to allow secondary resemblances that exist between them to prevent them from seeing the real differences. When one sees a number of figures of about the same size, all wearing beards and the tonsure and the same dress, and all coloured alike, one is predisposed to regard them as completely alike. But, with regard to the portraits before us, we are of opinion that a careful examination will show that they really differ in form and expression,[2] and that, without pretending that they are anatomically correct, or have any pretension to detailed likenesses, they exhibit sufficient personal traits to make it clear that they are not wholly imaginary pictures based on a few models. Remembering then the custom of other churches in the fourth century,[3] and reflecting that while on the one hand these portraits do not display the nimbus, they on the other hand exhibit a complete correctness of costume, we must say that it is probable that some of them, from that of Pope Sylvester[4] to that of Innocent I., were painted before the time of Leo I., and were even in some cases contemporary, and sufficiently like their originals to have enabled the spectator to recognise for whom they were intended. (Plates XVII. and XVIII.)[1]

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[1] See *e.g.* Prof. Wüscher-Becchi, 'Le memorie di S. Gregorio Magno nella sua casa,' ap. *Atti dell'Academia Romana*, t. viii. serie ii. 1903, p. 417 ff., following Venturi, *Storia dell'Arte*, i. p. 195. Much less will probably be thought of certain exaggerations in the drawing, if it be remembered that the portraits had to be viewed from a distance.

[2] We are, of course, only speaking of the portraits from Urban I. to Innocent I.

[3] It should be called to mind also that in this age much attention was given by writers to the succession of the bishops of Rome.

[4] We have said nothing about the mosaic of Pope Sylvester I. in the remains of the old church dedicated to him which are to be seen to the side of and below the present Church of S. Martino ai Monti. The following will explain the reason of our reticence. At the back of an altar in the place named, there is a ruined mosaic showing the Blessed

What is to be said of the Portraits of St. Peter and his successors to Sylvester I.

Reverting to the series of portraits from St. Peter to Pope Melchiades († 314) inclusive, we have already noted that they have been 'greatly,' and we may now add, 'and very badly' retouched. The principal work in that direction was done under Benedict XIV. (1740–58), and Marangoni tells us with pride and no little detail how the restoration was effected. The work was placed under the superintendence of an experienced artist who was assisted by a small commission of learned men, among whom the chief were Justino Capicio and the canon himself. He tells us further that a great movable scaffold was made for the commission, which performed its work with the greatest possible care. It was found that fourteen out of the first sixteen medallions were much injured, and, curiously enough, in view of the fact that modern historians have concluded that there was no Pope Anacletus, the picture of that Pontiff 'with his epigraph' had completely perished, whereas that of St. Peter, with vestments wholly unlike those of the other Popes, was almost intact, and required but little retouching. Whether the present condition of the earlier portraits is due to the above mentioned artist or to some later one, cannot be stated[2]; but their existing state is so hopeless that no conclusions can be drawn from them as they stand. It is, however, to our purpose to enquire if any authentic material existed from which the original artists of these portraits might have worked.

Virgin and a small figure kneeling at her side which is supposed to be that of Pope Sylvester I. In the days of Cardinal F. Barberini it was already in such a wretched state that he ordered a copy to be made of it also in mosaic. It is clear from certain still existing strands of the old mosaic, that the copyist did no more than reproduce the subject of the original without any regard to its details. He has given the small kneeling papal figure a yellow cope, and a white tiara with a single crown at its base. But how far this figure resembles the original in face or costume cannot be ascertained. Consequently as there are no real data for conjecture as to the date of the original mosaic, there can be no gain from our point of view in studying it further. Cf. E. Müntz, 'The lost mosaics of Rome,' ap. *The American Journal of Archaeology*, 1890, and Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken*, i. p. 323, Fig. 99, for an illustration of the mosaics.

[1] In Plate XVIII. the two portraits on the top left and the bottom right are from the lower series of Nicholas III.

[2] As the order given by Benedict was to preserve as far as possible both features and colour in the process of restoration, we may suppose that the present condition of the portraits is due to later hands. Cf. Marangoni, p. vii.

It would appear that they had at least a little. Whether stamped in bronze, figured in gold leaf at the bottom of a glass (Plate XVI. 1, 2), or sculptured in marble, the face of St. Peter is normally, from the second or third century onwards, depicted as round, strong and furrowed, with a short crisp beard and curly hair, whereas that of St. Paul, with which it is generally associated, is shown as longer and thinner and with a long, wavy beard, while his head is shown as somewhat bald in front. As the data for the features of the two apostles which is furnished us by literature[1] is identical with that supplied us by art, it is generally agreed that 'the antiquity and genuineness of both types cannot be doubted.'[2]

Material for the painting of other portraits besides that of St. Peter was at hand for the early artists in the shape of the gilded glasses to which allusion has just been made (Plate XVI.). These glasses, for the most part bottoms of bowls made for presents, were used to ornament the graves in the Roman Catacombs and elsewhere. Most of the existing ones are said to date from the fourth century, but some appear to belong to the third, and some to the fifth century. Among them are still preserved in the Vatican and other museums specimens which give portraits of Popes Callistus, Sixtus II., Marcellinus († 308), all of the third century. There is reason to believe that they and the one now lost showing Pope Liberius (352–66), of which a copy is extant (Plate XVI. 6), were made during the lifetime of those Pontiffs, and had at least some resemblance to the Popes whose names they bear. At any rate, speaking of the glass which shows Pope Callistus, De Rossi expressed his conviction that there was question of a 'genuine portrait,' and he called attention to its alert and steady look.[3]

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[1] Allusions to the frontal baldness and long nose of St. Paul are made in the *Acts of Paul and Thecla*, ch. i. v. 7, and in the *Dialogue of Philopatris*, ch. 12, vol. iii. pp. 416–7, ed. Jacobitz. In general it may be said that the Greek tradition in this matter of the characteristic features of SS. Peter and Paul is the same as the Latin. Cf. S. Borgia, *Vaticana Confessio b. Petri*, p. cxxvii. ff. Rome, 1776; and A. Cossio, *The Tomb of St. Peter*, p. 205 ff. Città di Castello, 1913; and M. le Comte de Saint Laurent, 'Aperçus iconographiques sur S. Pierre et S. Paul,' p. 26 ff. and p. 138 ff. ap. *Annales Archéol.* vol. xxiii. 1863. In a bas-relief of the fourth century found at Aquileia in 1901 the same types reappear. Cf. C. Constantini, *Aquileia e Grado*, Fig. 75.

[2] Lanciani, *Pagan and Christian Rome*, p. 210.

[3] *Bullet. crist.* 1866, n. 2, p. 23. Cf. Boldetti, *Osservazioni sopra i Cimiteri*, p. 59 f. Rome, 1720, who found the glass of Liberius in the cemetery of S. Callistus. It must be noted that its assignation to Liberius does not rest on a too secure foundation.

There are also to be found in the catacombs and elsewhere frescoes of some of these early Popes. In the crypt of St. Lucina close to the cemetery of Praetextatus there is one of Pope Cornelius (254–5) which shows well the pontifical vestments, the sandals, the dalmatic, chasuble and pallium. But it is merely an ideal figure of a much later age, with the name of the Pope by its side. It is possibly the work of John III. (561–74) who retired to the catacomb of Praetextatus to avoid the persecution of Narses.[1] Of the same age is the figure of Sixtus II. († 258) in the same place, and still later is that of Pope Urban I. (223–30) in the crypt of St. Cecilia. But with regard to the medallion of Sixtus II. comparatively recently discovered in the lower church of S. Crisogono, though, as it stands, it dates only from the pontificate of Gregory III. (735–41), it has certainly been painted over an earlier one which no doubt was made in the fourth century when the church was originally built.[2] Though then it may be said to be highly probable that contemporary portraits of somewhat later Popes were occasionally painted in the catacombs,[3] these cemeteries have so far not furnished any 'fresco' material for the story of papal portraiture before the days of Sylvester I.

The widespread habit among the pagan population of Rome in imperial times of making portraits for the home, for the funeral monument and for honorary purposes; the very early corresponding Christian practice of making portraits of the *Orantes*, etc.,[4] and the evidence of the existing gilt glasses is no doubt enough to convince us that contemporary portraits of many of the Popes of the first three centuries were painted. There is, however, nothing now to prove that any such pre-existing material was used by the artists who first painted on the walls of old St. Paul's the *clipei* of the Popes who lived before its erection.

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[1] *Liber Pont.* i. p. 305.

[2] Apart from the evidence of the picture itself, it is insinuated in the text of the *Liber, Pont.* that it was renewed: 'Hic (Gregory III.) *renovavit* tectum S. Chrysogoni . . . et cameram sive parietum picturas.' Cf. O. Marucchi, *Nuovo Bull. Arch. Crist.* xvii. (1911), Plates VI. and VII.

[3] It is said of Pope Celestine († 432) that he decorated 'his own cemetery with pictures', *i.e.*, that portion of the cemetery of St. Priscilla where he was afterwards buried. Cf. *Ep. Had. I.* ap. *P. Lat.* t. 98, p. 1285.

[4] Cf. Brèhier, *L'art chrétien*, pp. 68–105, 112; Grisar, *History of the Popes*, i. p. 371, Fig. 38, W. de Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 29, Rome, 1911.

Division of the line of the Popes into Sections for the study of their Portraits

As in a paper of this sort it is impossible to deal with all the existing portraits of the Popes before Martin V., we purpose to continue the treatment of them as we have begun it, viz., to treat of them in sections. With this end in view we would divide the Popes from St. Peter to Martin V. into seven groups. The first group includes the Pontiffs from St. Peter to the predecessor of Sylvester I. (A.D. 29–314) who lived during the days of persecution, and who may be called the Popes of the Catacombs.

From 314 to 410 (Innocent I. 402–17) we have a period when the Church was in the main free from violent persecution from without, and when the Roman Empire had a fair share of tranquility within its borders. During this period flourished the Popes of the Great Peace as we may call them.

The melancholy years from 410, in which occurred the sack of Rome by Alaric the Goth, to 522 when, in the pontificate of Pope Hormisdas, Rome was recovered from the Goths by Narses, the great general from Byzantium, were the days of the agony and passing of old Rome, days anything but favourable to the practice of art.

The three hundred and sixty years from 522 to 882 when John VIII. died, witnessed the birth of the new Rome of the Popes, and in politics and in art the growth of Byzantine influence introduced by the generals of Justinian.

From the death of John VIII. (882) to the accession of the German Pope Clement (1046), the city went through a period of anarchy. It was Christian Rome's darkest night. The centuries from 1046–1305 (the accession of Clement V.) saw the first Roman artistic Renaissance. They were the flower of the Middle Ages, and in Roman Art they were the centuries of the Marmorarii.

Finally, the fourteenth century (1305–1417, the election of Martin V.) was a period of war and plague, a period of general decay all over Europe. It was the age of the residence of the Popes at Avignon—the age of the so-called Babylonian Captivity, and the age of the Great Western Schism. It was a time when Rome nearly went to complete decay ; and yet, as we shall see, for the purposes of this paper, it was an important period as it witnessed a great revival in interest in portraits.

Papal Portraits from 410–522

What we have already said about the forty portraits in the cloister of the monastery of St. Paul, covers the story of the Popes as far as their portraiture is concerned during its first two periods. Turning to its third (410–522), during which ancient Rome suffered and died, we find that, despite the terrible times, St. Paul's and its decoration continually engaged the attention of the Popes. Evidence has already been given to show that, despite all the terror caused by the ravages of Attila's dreaded Huns, the basilica was decorated by Pope Leo, the Great. Symmachus († 514) followed his example; and, according to his biographer, not only renewed its apse, but adorned a portion of the basilica with paintings.[1] No doubt part of his work consisted in continuing its series of papal portraits. He is in fact credited with having added the ten portraits from that of Pope Zosimus, the successor of Innocent I., to that of his own predecessor, Anastasius II. Of these paintings we have only the copies made by order of Cardinal Barberini: and the inferiority, compared to the originals, of the copies made of the Popes from Urban I. to Innocent I., permits us to infer that these are also inferior. But if they do not serve to give us a trustworthy idea of the features of the Popes in this age, they certainly are of use to tell us something of their vestments. They inform us that the ecclesiastical pallium came into use at the beginning of this period. For we see that, commencing with Symmachus himself, the Pontiffs of this period are depicted as wearing, in place of the philosopher's pallium, a tunic and other pontifical vestments, with the ecclesiastical pallium above them.

These conclusions can also be drawn from a copy of the portrait of Pope Simplicius (468–483) preserved by Ciacconius.[2] From the *Liber Pontificalis* (i. 249), we know that that Pontiff built 'the basilica of the blessed martyr Bibiana,' and that one of the lost mosaics of Rome is the one with which he adorned the apse of his new church. When in course of time the mosaic became damaged, we are told by Ciacconius that the portrait (imago) of the Pope, who as usual was represented on his mosaic, was restored in colour. Of this Ciacconius gives a coloured drawing, showing the full figure of the Pope wearing a plain tiara, a pallium marked with crosses, and a chasuble which looks quite Gothic.

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 262, 'Et post confessionem picturam ornavit.'

[2] *Cod. Vat.* 5407, f. 73 or 108.

The Fourth, or Byzantine Period, 522–882

The next or fourth period of papal history, the age of the Byzantine occupation of Rome; of the Iconoclast persecution; of the beginnings of the temporal power of the Popes; of the foundation of papal Rome, and of the brief Carolingian Renaissance, was an important one in the history of Roman art. During this epoch Rome was for about two hundred years, nominally at least, governed by Byzantine Dukes, and so came under the artistic influence of Constantinople; and even after the cessation of any effective control over it by the Basileus by the Bosphorus, and the advent of the civil authority of the Roman Pontiffs, Byzantine artistic influence was kept up by the monks and others who fled thither to avoid the persecution of the Iconoclast Emperors. The remains of the historic literature and art of this period of Byzantine influence which have survived, furnish us with direct evidence that the Popes of that age caused portraits of themselves to be executed in various materials. We read, for instance, that Pope Agapitus (*c.* 535) placed a likeness of himself in a library which he had built[1]; and that the portrait of Leo IV. (847–56) was woven into countless textile fabrics from the looms of Egypt and Syria.[2] The inscription below the apsidal mosaic in the basilica of St. Agnes erected by Honorius I. (625–39), tells us how he may be recognised in the mosaic by his vestments and the model of the church which he holds in his hands (factis).[3] To this day, too, are preserved the originals or copies of mosaics or frescoes in which are to be seen contemporary portraits of Felix IV. (526–30),[4] a mosaic in the Church of SS. Cosmas and Damian; Pelagius II. (578–90), a mosaic in that of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls (Plate XX. 1); Honorius I. (625–39), a mosaic in the church of St. Agnes outside-the-walls; John IV. (640–2) and Theodore (642–9), a mosaic in the chapel of S. Venanzio, in the Baptistery of the Lateran; John VII. (705–8), a mosaic in the

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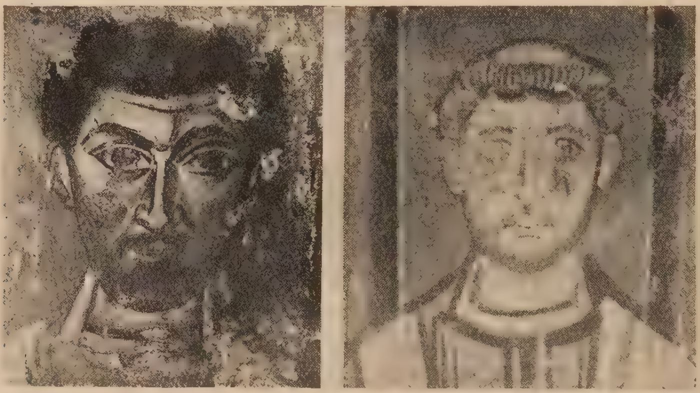
[1] *Lib. Pont.* i. 288.

[2] 'Obtulit vela 4 cum chrysoclavo in quibus ipse praesul depictus.' *Ib.* ii. p. 130 cf. pp. 125, 129, etc. Of another vestment it is said: 'habens effigiem ipsius almi pontificis.' *Ib.* p. 111. Cf. p. 114 for his portrait in mosaic.

[3] 'Vestibus et factis signantur illius ora
Lucet et aspectu lucida corda gerens.'—Ap. *ib.* i. p. 325.

[4] Ciacconius (*Cod. Vat.* 5409 f. 11) gives a copy of a portrait of Felix IV. from the cemetery of St. Nicholas *in Carcere.* But see note below about this cemetery. The copy depicts the Pope with a nimbus, as bare-headed and bearded, and with a strong, rather severe face. His vestments are like of those in the portrait of Boniface IV. from the same place, a reproduction of which we give.

Vatican crypts;[1] Zacharius (741–52), (Fig. 4. 1), Paul I. (757–68), and Hadrian I. (772–95), frescoes in the comparatively recently discovered ancient church of Sta. Maria Antiqua; Leo III. (795–816), a completely restored mosaic of the Lateran triclinium, but of which copies in its original state have been preserved,[2] in a lost mosaic once in the church of Sta. Susanna ad duas domos, of which also a copy has been preserved[3]; and in a fresco in the portico of the church of SS. Vincenzo e Anastasio, of which a copy was made in 1630;[4] Paschal I. (817–24), mosaics in Sta. Maria in Domnica, Sta. Prassede, and Sta. Cecilia (Fig. 5);



1.—ZACHARY. 2.—LEO IV.

FIG. 4.—PAPAL PORTRAITS IN FRESCO.

Gregory IV. (827–44), a mosaic in St. Mark's[5] (Plate XIV.); Leo IV (847–55), a fresco in San Clemente[6] (Fig. 4. 2).

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[1] Cf. E. Müntz, 'L'oratoire du Pape Jean VII.' p. 145 ff. ap. *Revue Archéologique*, Sept. 1877. He points out that the drawing given by Ciampini, *De Sacr. Ædific.* Pl. XXIII. showing the remains of the mosaic of John's chapel is inaccurate—'une gravure informe.'

[2] By Ciampini, *Vet. Mon.* ii. Plate XL. and by others. See Plate XIX. 1.

[3] By Ciampini, *ib.* Plate XLII. Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 2062 f. 62. Leo had been ordained priest in that Church. He renewed the Church 'cum absida de musivo,' *L.P.* ii. p. 3. See Plate XX. 3.

[4] Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4402. A rude copy on f. 36 gives the figure of Leo III. several times, but on too small a scale to be of any use as a portrait. His figure on f. 47 is of more value. It shows a beardless young man wearing a tiara with one crown, but without a pallium. His vestments are wrongly drawn.

[5] There is an excellent illustration of this mosaic in Dengel and Egger's *Der Palazzo di Venezia in Rom*, Vienna, 1909.

[6] The portrait we give of Gregory I. (590–604) is merely a reconstruction by Professor Wüscher-Becchi from the elaborate description given by his biographer, John the Deacon,

Examining these portraits which stretch over a period of three and a half centuries, we cannot see that they furnish any evidence of any regular improvement or steady decline in their delineation. As far as the evidence of the mosaics alone is concerned, there is certainly all the difference in the world between the beautiful one in the church of SS. Cosmas and Damian, justly reckoned one of the finest in Rome, which gives us the features of Felix IV., and the poor one in St. Mark's, (the last made before the Gregorian Renaissance in the eleventh century) which presents us with the face of Gregory IV. The figure of Felix is

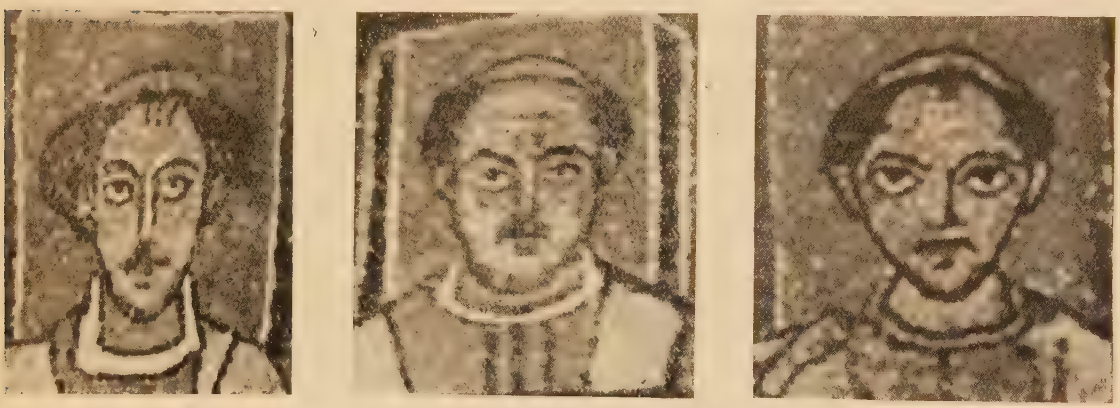

FIG. 5.—MOSAIC PORTRAITS OF PASCHAL I.

Lib. iv. c. 3–4. Speaking of Gregory's portrait, the Deacon said: 'In absidula post fratrum cellarium Gregorius ejusdem artificis magisterio in rota gypsea ostenditur,' *i.e.* on a *clipeus* of stucco (Fig. 6). It appears that towards the end of the sixteenth century, Don Angelo Rocca made an effort to reconstruct in the Church of S. Saba this fresco and others painted by order of St. Gregory; but he did nothing more than copy a previous effort made in the twelfth or thirteenth century by an unskilled artist. Cf. 'Le memorie di S. Gregorio' cited above. Worthy of more minute attention is the miniature of Gregory on the 'diptych of Boethius,' an ivory of the second half of the seventh century. See the coloured plate ap. Wilpert, *Römische Mosaiken*, iv. Plate 297. We also give a copy of the portrait of Boniface IV. (607–15) made by Ciacconius (*Cod. Vat.* 5407, f. 12) 'from a picture in the cemetery' round about the Church of St. Nicholas 'in carcere Tulliano' (Plate XX. 2). The original of this copy, however, may not be contemporary; for, although the Church was probably built long before, it is mentioned for the first time only in connection with Urban II. (1088–99). Cf. *Lib. Pont.* ii. 294–5. For good copies of the portraits of John VII. Paschal I. and Leo IV. see Grüneisen, *Le Portrait*, p. 79. In Munich (*Cod. Lat. Monac.* 156, f. 28) is a copy of a contemporary portrait of Stephen (IV.) V, 816–7, with a square nimbus which O. Panvinio sent there. Cf. Hartig in note below. p. 314.

natural and graceful, the face with its white hair and beard most pleasing. It is true the present figure is only a restoration by Alexander VII., but as the restoration was made from a copy of the original, we can gather from it ' in all probability . . . a fair notion of what the original looked like.'[1] The figure of Gregory IV. on the other hand, perched on a little stand, is stiff, and its drapery is awkwardly arranged, though the face is distinctly natural. If then, the difference between the sixth century mosaic of Felix IV. and the ninth century one of Gregory is considerable,

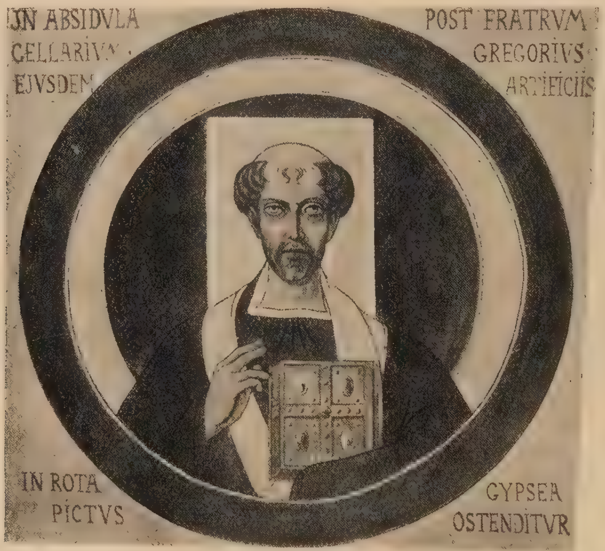

FIG. 6.—RECONSTRUCTED PORTRAIT OF GREGORY I., THE GREAT.

so too, but to a lesser degree, is there a difference in favour of the seventh century figures of Honorius I. and John IV., as against the ninth century figures of Paschal I. If, however, we turn to fresco, we find that remarkably fine work was done as late as the second half of the eighth century. The discoveries in the church of Sta. Maria Antiqua were a revelation in every sense ; and it is only necessary to turn over the illustrated pages of Grüneisen's magnificent volume on that church to be convinced of the excellence of most of the frescoes in it. From the illustrations he gives,[1] it is clear that the portrait of Pope Zacharias, which was painted in his lifetime, is one of the most life-like that was executed in the early middle ages.

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[1] Morey, *Lost mosaics and frescoes of Rome*, p. 37. Cf. p. 2.

Unable, within the limits of this paper, to treat with any detail the various portraits even of this church, we will simply note that the very faded papal figure with a square nimbus,[2] which Grüneisen says is probably that of that 'servant of Mary,' John VII., can only by a flight of imagination to which we are not equal be said to offer 'a striking resemblance (*analogie*) with the mosaic portrait of him preserved in the Vatican Crypt.'[3] To us this latter suggests an amiable, pious, rather weak person who has his head on one side. When Sta. Maria Antiqua was discovered some twenty years ago, the pictures of the apse were in a very decayed state, but it was possible just to see the figure of Pope Paul I. (757–67) with the square nimbus round the head.[4] Similarly with regard to the last of the Popes whose contemporary likeness was found in the ancient basilica, namely, Hadrian I. (772–95). His broad face is but faintly visible.[5]

The Anarchical Period, 882–1046

After the death of the strong Pope, John VIII., there set in Rome's dark night. For a century and a half (882–1046) to the accession of Clement II., the first of a succession of German Popes, there was feudal anarchy in the City of Rome. The chiefs of its noble families lorded it over priest and people, and in some few cases their unworthy offspring were placed by force even in the chair of Peter. Yet during this sorry age, when even written records almost fail us, the hand of the artist was not quite palsied.[6] It was during this period of distress that Sergius III. († 911) rebuilt the Lateran basilica, and adorned it with frescoes;[7] and that John XV. (985–996) decorated with paintings the Oratory of

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[1] See also the illustrations in his *Le Portrait*, p. 79. He supplies two specimens of the portrait of Zacharias in his *Ste. Marie Antique*, planche icon, n. XXXVII. and LXXIX., the latter being of the head alone.

[2] *Ste. Marie*, Fig. 108, p. 147.

[3] The opinion of Ch. Diehl, *Dans l'Orient Byzantin*, p. 293.

[4] Grüneisen, *l.c.* p. 53, n. 1 and Fig. 109, p. 149.

[5] A coloured illustration of the fresco showing this Pope is given in vol. iv. Pl. 195 of J. Wilpert's splendid work : *Die Römischen Mosaiken und Malerein*, Freiburg-in-Breisgau, 1916.

[6] Cf. Mann, *Lives of the Popes*, iv. 28 ff.

[7] Joan. Diac. *De eccles. Lat.* c. 17. His work of decoration was continued by his successor, John X.

Sta. Maria in Gradibus.[1] It was also during the same epoch that we saw Pope Formosus painting in St. Peter's portraits of himself and of his predecessors.[2]

If, unhappily, the portrait of the church restorer, Formosus, is lost, there are extant of the Popes of this period, copies of contemporary portraits of John XII. (955–64), and John XIII. (965–72), surnamed the Good. The copy of that of John XII. has been preserved by Grimaldi,[3] and, if accurate, is of no little historical value, as it tends to show that John XII. was not a mere youth of eighteen when he was elected Pope. Grimaldi gives us two pictures of John XII. In one he is shown being clothed with 'the great mantle' (Fig. 7),[4] and in the other he is shown in a procession under a canopy giving his blessing. In both he is represented as a man of so mature an age that he could not have been elected Pope when he was only eighteen; for on that supposition he died when only twenty-seven. John XIII., the Good, was buried in St. Paul's in a tomb made during his lifetime and placed between the first column and the Porta Sancta near the entrance. His epitaph is still preserved in the adjoining monastery. The tomb, however, has perished, but the fresco that, we will not say, adorned, but accompanied it, was copied before its destruction. The illustration which we give of the copy shows that John XIII., if the rude fresco (or its copy) did not belie him, was, to say the least, a man of full habit of body (Plate XIX. 2).[5] Passing over, because not contemporary, the fascinating Register of Tivoli[6] where are given coloured figures of certain tenth century Popes which are interesting for their costume, we continue our course down the ages.

The Age of the Marmorarii, 1046–1305

The next period (1046–1305) of the long story of the Popes for which we would discuss the materials that existed for the composition of their portraits in old St. Paul's, was a distinctly important one in the history of art in general, but particularly of Roman art. It was the age in which there was everywhere in the West that great outburst of ecclesiastical architecture of which contemporaries speak with such lawful pride.[7]

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 339.

[2] See also Grimaldi, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, f. 106 ff.

[3] *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2733, fol. 50. Cf. Mann, *l.c.* iv. 244.

[4] Cf. Mann, *l.c.* and x. 18, and Lauer, *Le Latran*, p. 141 f.

[5] *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 4406, f. 141; *Lib. Pont.* ii. 254.

[6] L. Bruzza, *Regesto delle chiese di Tivoli*, Rome, 1880.

[7] Cf. R. Glaber, *Hist.* iii. *c.* 4; and Gerhoh of Reichersperg, *Lib. de corrupt. eccles. statu*, n. 52.

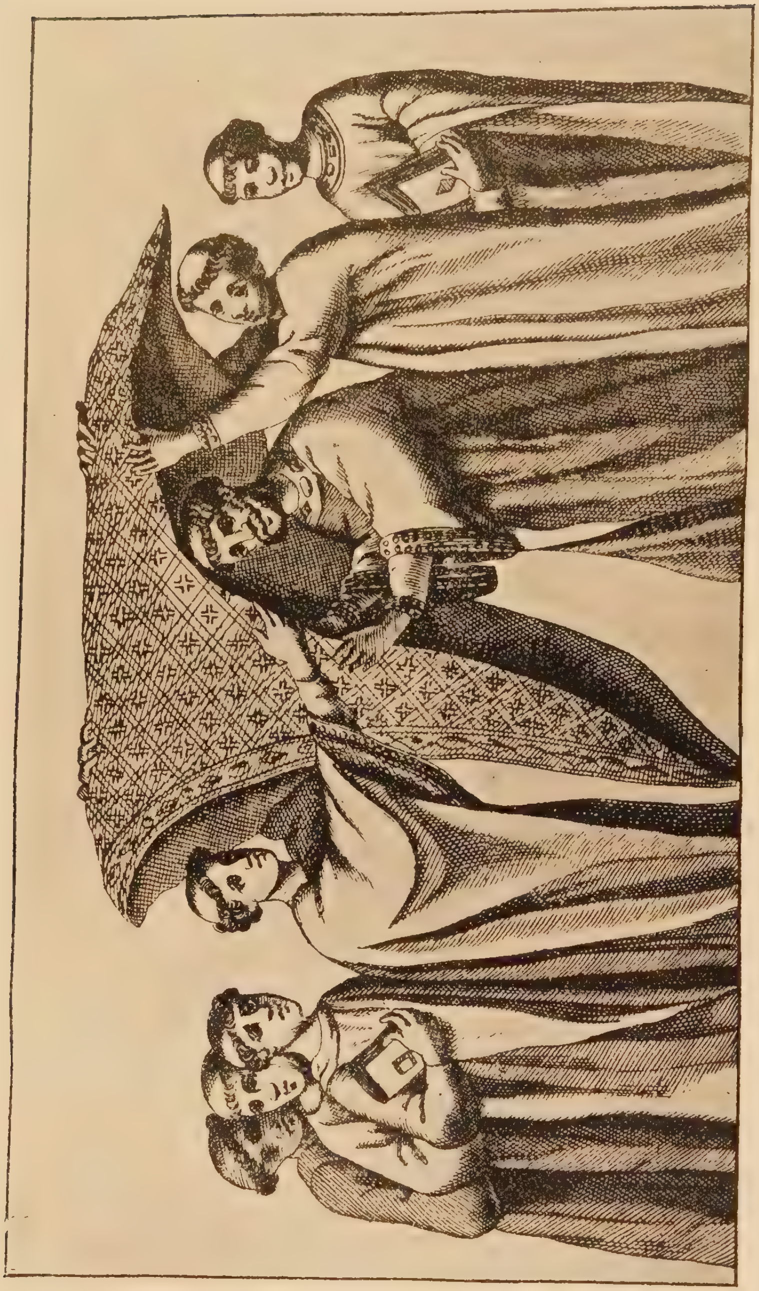

FIG. 7.—JOHN XII. BEING INVESTED WITH "THE GREAT MANTLE."
(From Grimaldi's copy of a fresco once in the Lateran.)

It was the age in which sculpture,[1] after a hibernation of many centuries, not merely awoke, but achieved triumphs still unsurpassed in the domain of foliage and decorative detail, and even in that of the draped human figure. It was in Rome the age of the Roman Marmorarii, the so-called Cosmati, those artists who, working specially in coloured marbles, were at once decorators, mosaicists, sculptors and architects. It was in Rome, too, during this period that, especially under the guidance of Pietro Cavallini, there took place that revival of the art of painting which subsequently enabled Florence to acquire undying fame in the story of art.[2] It was, particularly through the art of Rome, the age of Italy's first artistic Renaissance.

With the progress in Rome of this great development of art we may be sure that papal portraiture did not suffer. Written documents and extant remains prove that contemporary portraits of the Popes were executed in fresco, in increasingly beautiful mosaic, and in sculptured marble.

While several of the Pontiffs of this really artistic age caused more or less extended series of portraits of their predecessors to be painted, a number of existing contemporary works of art bring before us the face and form of a very large proportion of these Pontiffs themselves.

On the close of the 'investiture' struggles, by the Concordat of Worms (1122), Callistus II. employed such art as his age then possessed to commemorate it. He first ordered to be attached to the Lateran palace a chapel and an audience chamber, and then proceeded to adorn them. The decoration of the former was completed by the antipope, Anacletus II., and in the conch of the apse was to be seen a fresco exhibiting two Popes with circular nimbuses standing one on each side of a seated figure of the Blessed Virgin with her Child. At her feet were the kneeling figures of two other Popes. The square nimbuses that surround their heads, names by their sides and inscriptions have enabled them in our days to be correctly identified as Callistus II. and Anacletus II.

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[1] Apparently no figure sculpture of any importance was executed in Rome from the decline of Roman sculpture to the days of Guglielmo da Modena in the twelfth century—the artist to whom are assigned the figures on the façade of Modena Cathedral.

[2] Mr. S. Lothrop, 'Pietro Cavallini' in the *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, 1918, justly calls Cavallini the most important figure of a school of artists which included the Cosmati, Filippo Russuti, and Jacobo Torriti.

Below this group was a row of eight Popes, each with a circular nimbus. Among them were the six immediate predecessors of Callistus, all of whom had been engaged in the 'investiture' dispute. Unfortunately, this most interesting fresco has been destroyed, and only copies of it are extant. As far, however, as pontifical portraits are concerned, it was, to judge by the criticisms of Grimaldi, who saw it, of no great value, as, according to him, the style in which they were executed was very poor. Still, from the copies of it which we possess by Ciacconius and Grimaldi,[1] we not only see well from the full length figures the vestments of the Popes, how they wore a tiara with one crown, the pallium in its present shape, apparels on their albs, and shoes without as yet crosses upon them, but we can at least discern the comparative youth of the antipope, Anacletus.[2] In his newly built audience chamber, Callistus depicted the recent victories of the legitimate Popes over the imperial antipopes. He showed Alexander II. triumphing over the antipope Cadalus; Gregory II., Victor III. and Urban II. over Guibert of Ravenna; Paschal II. over Albert, Maginulf, and Theodoric; and himself over Bourdin. Of these frescoes, too, we have only copies preserved by Rasponi.[3] But, whether his copies are inferior or not to their originals, they are certainly worthless for purposes of portraiture, as the various faces are practically exactly alike.

Another Pope who during this epoch ordered portraits of his predecessors to be painted, was, as we have already stated more than once, the Orsini Pope, Nicholas III. Of his work in that particular enough has already been said. It only remains to add that his own beardless face, depicted probably by the great Roman master, Pietro Cavallini, may still be seen in the *Sancta Sanctorum* chapel which he renewed. The two paintings in the tympanum above the altar show the offering of the new chapel to SS. Peter and Paul, and through them to the Saviour. On the left are the erect figures of the Apostles, and kneeling between them is the Pope with what appears to be a model of the church in his hand.[4]

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[1] *Cod. Vat.* 5407; and *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 4423.

[2] Cf. G. B. de Rossi, *Esame dell' imagine di Urbano II.* Rome, 1881, and Müntz, *Recherches sur les MSS. de J. Grimaldi*, p. 254, Paris, 1877; *Lib. Pont.* ii. 325, n. 22, and Morey, *Lost mosaics*, p. 63 ff.; Lauer, *Le Latran*, p. 162 ff.

[3] *De basilica et patriarchio Lateranensi*, pp. 285 and 291. Cf. *Lib. Pont.* ii. 378 f.

[4] Grisar, *Il Sancta Sanctorum*, p. 47, Rome, 1907. Cf. Ptolemy of Lucca, *Hist. eccles.*

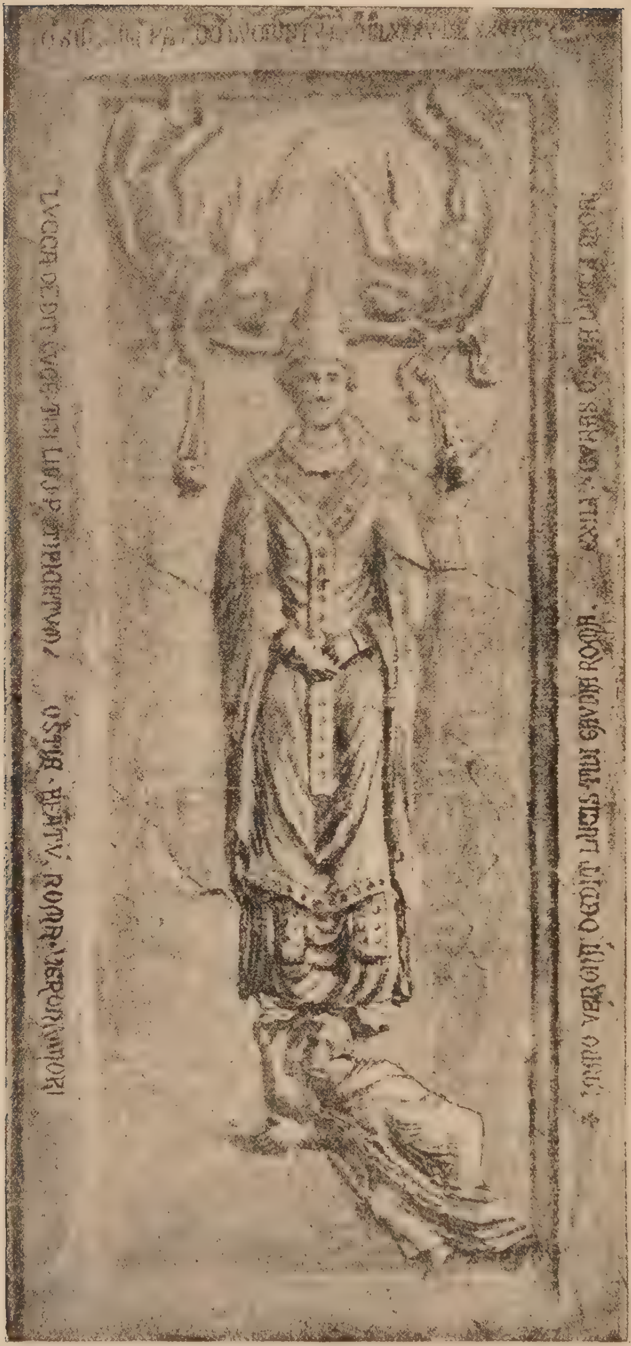

Fig. 8.—The Tomb of Lucius III.

Turning now to those Popes who, as far as we know, have ordered only portraits of themselves to be made, we may begin with Innocent II.

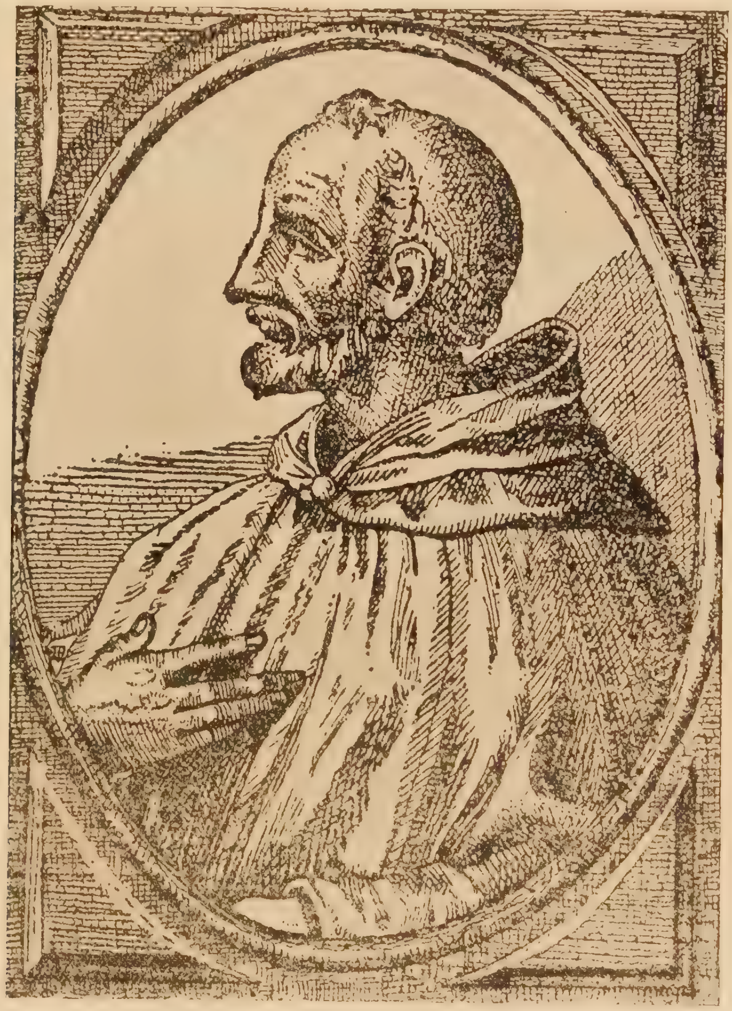

FIG. 9.—EUGENIUS III.
(From the Bollandists, after Cavalieri.)

(1130-43). This second successor of Callistus II. imitated him both

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l. xxviii. *c.* 30, where he says that Nicholas rebuilt the S. S. 'ac in superiore parte testudinis picturis . . . ornata fundari jussit.' Wilpert, *Die Römischen Mosaiken*, i. p. 183, Fig. 57, gives an illustration of the fresco beneath the right door of the reliquary, which, rather faintly certainly, shows Nicholas III. bringing back the relics to the Sancta Sanctorum on the completion of his repairs.

in adding to the Lateran palace two fresh rooms,[1] and in ornamenting one of them at least with historical frescoes. These latter were seen by Panvinio in the sixteenth century, and were connected with the coronation of the Emperor Lothaire II. at St. John Lateran. They depicted among other events his being received and embraced by the Pope,[2] and the coronation itself.[3] We need not pause to consider if the copy which Rasponi has preserved of one of these frescoes is of more value than the others just spoken of, but may perhaps conclude, from the mosaic with which Innocent filled the apse of Sta. Maria in Trastevere, that he wore a beard, was rather old, and was short and thick-set.[4] Of Innocent's third successor, namely, Eugenius III., we give a portrait which the Bollandists took from the series of Cavalieri. It reveals, as we should expect from our knowledge of his life, an ascetic face, and is believed to be authentic—for one reason because he is depicted not in the customary pontifical garb but with the robe and cowl which he had worn as a Cistercian (Fig. 9).

Some forty years after the death of Eugenius († 1153), there succeeded to the pontifical throne Celestine III. whose portrait frequently occurs among the miniatures of the original manuscript of his contemporary, Peter of Eboli.

The figure in high relief on the left wing of the bronze doors of the Oratory of St. John the Evangelist in the Lateran Baptistery—made in the fifth year of Celestine's Pontificate by Cencius Camerarius—was long famous as a portrait of Celestine and is given here (Fig. 10) on that account. This figure, however, is now generally thought to be allegorical and to represent the Church.[5]

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[1] *Lib. Pont.* ii. 384. Fig. 8 shows the features of Lucius III. (1181–5).

[2] A copy of this may be seen in Rasponi, *loc. cit.* p. 391.

[3] Cf. *Chron. reg. Colon.* an. 1156, and Panvinio, *De basilica Lat.* ap. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran*, pp. 478–9.

[4] This mosaic is often reproduced. It may be seen, *e.g.* ap. Bertaux, *Rome*, i. p. 67, Paris, 1916. In the contemporary mosaic of the façade of Sta. Maria in Trastevere both Innocent II. and Eugenius III. are depicted kneeling at the feet of the Blessed Virgin. Cf. J. B. de Rossi, *Musaici Cristiani delle Chiese di Roma*, Rome, 1899.

[5] Ciampini, *Vet. mon.* i. p. 239. The figure is clad in a tunic which reaches to the feet, and in a chasuble of the ancient pattern, *i.e.* round and completely closed except for an opening for the head. The kind of hood which rests immediately upon the head is believed by Ciampini to be that distinctively papal vestment known as the *fannon*, which in the portraits in St. Paul's is depicted for the first time on the figure of Pius X. But neither in the time of Celestine III. nor at any other was a Pope ever represented in this attire. By some this figure has been interpreted to be the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Portraits of the successors of Celestine III.

Down to the end of the epoch under consideration, Celestine III. had nineteen successors, and there is evidence that portraits of all of them once existed. Indeed, of far the greater number of them the portraits or copies of them or both still exist. We have the likeness in mosaic of Innocent III.,[1] Honorius III.,[2] Gregory IX.,[3] and Nicholas IV.;[4] and in fresco of Innocent III.,[5] Honorius III.,[6] Gregory IX.,[5] Innocent IV.[7]

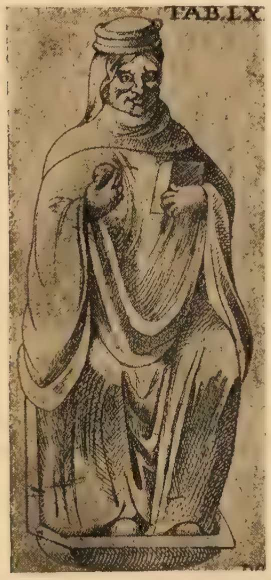

FIG. 10.—ALLEGORICAL FIGURE, PERHAPS REPRESENTING THE CHURCH.

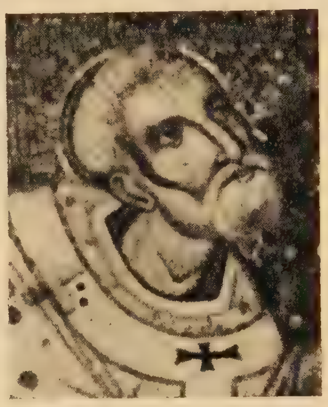

FIG. 11.—MOSAIC PORTRAIT OF HONORIUS III. IN THE APSE OF S. PAUL'S.

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[1] Preserved from the mosaic he erected in the apse of old St. Peter's.

[2] In the apse of St. Paul's (Fig. 11) and in the quaint little mosaic of the frieze of S. Lawrence outside-the-walls (Plate XXI.).

[3] Preserved from the mosaic with which he adorned the façade of old St. Peter's. See Plates XX. 5 and XXI.

[4] In the apsidal mosaic of St. John Lateran, and also in the splendid one by Jacopo Torriti in St. Mary Major's.

[5] In the monastery at Subiaco (Fig. 12).

[6] We give a copy of this fresco that once existed 'ad fores' of the old church of Sta. Bibiana (Plate XX. 4). The copy is preserved in *Cod. Vat.* n. 5407, f. 56 or 104. A curious portrait of the same Pope is to be seen in the *Cod. Barb. Lat.* n. 4423, f. 1 (a smaller copy of the same is given on f. 7). It shows the Pope kneeling at the feet of a crucifix, and the words: 'Fr. Jacob. et. P̄niarī. (Penitentiarius) et. Cappellan.'

[7] At the back of the tomb of his nephew Cardinal William Fieschi in the basilica of St. Lawrence outside-the-walls (Plate XV.).

Innocent V., Nicholas III.,[1] Boniface VIII.,[2] and Benedict XI. With regard to the portrait of the last-named Pontiff, it is stated by Vasari[3] that it was painted on the wall of the Chapter-house of S. Maria Novella

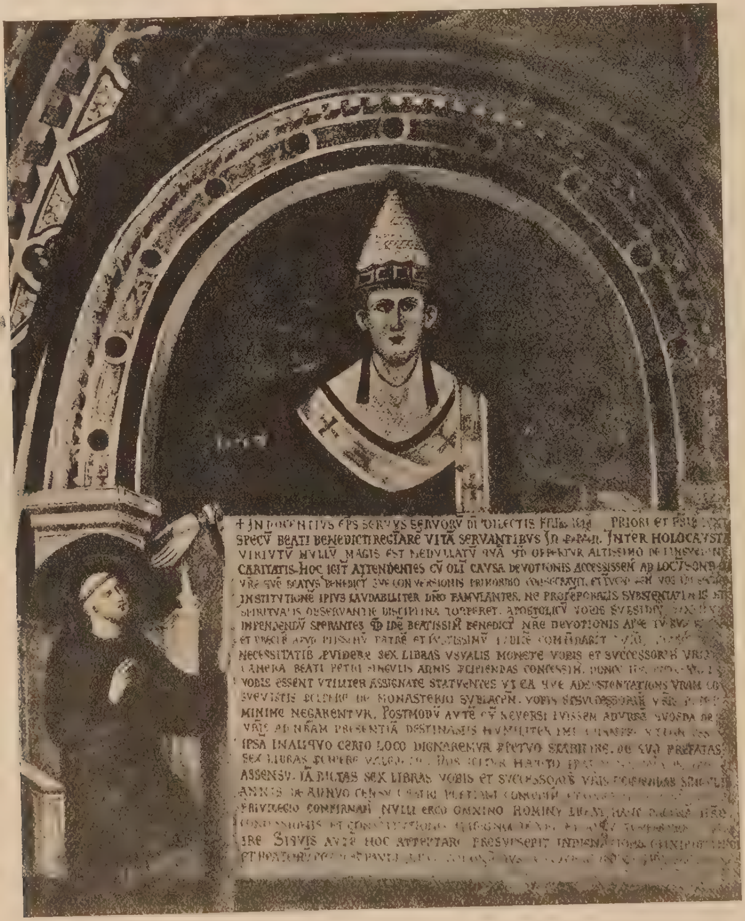

FIG. 12.—INNOCENT III., FROM A FRESCO IN THE SACRO SPECO AT SUBIACO.

by Simone Martini, from a likeness given him by Giotto. It is a fact that in the Chapter-house on the wall on the right between portraits of Philip le Bel and Cardinal Nicola di Prato there is a portrait of Pope Benedict XI. (Plate XXII.). But it appears that it was the work of Andrea Bonaiuti (1343–77) commonly called Andrew of Florence.[1] In Vasari[2] we read that Fra Angelico in the convent of S. Marco in Florence painted a 'Dominican tree,' and that one of the medallions on one of the branches thereof is a portrait of Benedict XI. which he had copied from a likeness which one of his brother friars had procured from some quarter. It is on the same *tree* that is to be seen, procured in the same way, the portrait of Innocent V.

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[1] In the chapel known as the Sancta Sanctorum.

[2] The famous one by Giotto now on a pillar in St. John Lateran; and one by Amb. Lorenzetti in Siena—Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte*, v. 697 ff.; and in the Church dell' Incoronata at Naples, and in the church of S. Lorenzo Maggiore by Simone Martini. Cf. *ib.* p. 595.

[3] Ed. Milanesi, i. p. 559.

When speaking just now of Andrew of Florence and his splendid frescoes in the chapter-house (the so-called 'cappellone degli Spagnuoli') of Sta. Maria Novella, we made no mention of the other papal portrait on the left or west side of the chapel. This was for the simple reason that it is not known to whom it is to be referred. According to Venturi,[3] it should be assigned to Innocent IV., but, according to Ferretti, to Gregory IX.

In sculptured marble, as recumbent figures on tombs or as erect statues, we have portraits of Clement IV. (tomb at Viterbo); Gregory X. (tomb and statues at Arezzo); Hadrian V. (tomb at Viterbo by Arnolfo di Cambio); John XXI. (tomb at Viterbo);[4] Honorius IV. (tomb in the church of Aracœli, also the work of Arnolfo)[5]; Boniface VIII. (tomb by the same artist in the Vatican crypt, and various statues in the same place, and elsewhere); and Benedict XI. (tomb at Perugia by Giovanni Pisano).[1] Of the recumbent figures those of Gregory X. and Boniface VIII. are the most important. That of the former, said to be by Margaritone, is an exceptionally fine piece of work; and contemplation of its impressive face serves to deepen our feelings of respect for the saintly Pope who had so much at heart the glory of God, and who had the pleasure of seeing the East and the West once again ecclesiastically united.[2]

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[1] So we are informed by the Dominican, Father L. Ferretti, a distinguished art critic. To save trouble to future investigators who may be misled by that tiresome author, Vasari, Father Ferretti has kindly made various researches for me so that I am in a position to say that whether the following portraits ever existed or not, they are no longer extant: Gregory IX. and Innocent IV. by Spinello (i. 686, 681, ed. Milanesi); Celestine IV. and Innocent IV. which Vasari (i. 337) says were the work of Buonamico Buffalmacco from likenesses which he had received from his master, Andrea Tafi; Alexander IV., portraits by both the last named artists at Pisa and in old St. Peter's (i. 511); Nicholas IV. by Lorenzo di Bicci (ii. 51); Clement V. by Giotto (i. 387); Clement VI. by Orcagna (i. 601); Urban V. by Pietro Cavallini, and the copy which Fra Angelico is said to have made of it in S. Domenico at Fiesole (i. 539); indeed, in Del Migliore's *Guide to Florence*, it is said that all Cavallini's frescoes were whitewashed when the Dominicans came to St. Mark's; Gregory XI. by Taddeo Bartoli in S. Agostino at Arezzo (ii. 38); Urban VI. by F. Traini (i. 612) and Alexander V. by Lorenzo di Bicci which was at one time in the door 'del Martello' of Sta. Croce in Florence (ii. 51).

[2] ii. 507–8, ed. Milanesi, as always.

[3] *Storia dell'Arte It.* v. 806.

[4] Grimaldi's copy, *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, n. 4406, of a fresco in the nave of old St. Paul's shows the face of this Pope, but on too small a scale to be of any use as a portrait.

[5] See Plate XX., 6, from a statue that once stood above the tomb.

Contemplating the calm and beautiful, though firm, features which we see not merely on the figure on the tomb of Boniface VIII., but also on the other numerous statues and frescoes of him that have survived to this day, one cannot suppress the feeling which at once arises, that, whatever may have been the outward character of some of his acts, they must in the main have been the outcome of a lofty motive. Of the other sepulchral monuments a brief mention must be made of the tomb and figure of Hadrian V. With its excellent proportions and harmonious colouring, it is perhaps the finest of all the Cosmati tombs, and the figure beneath its noble canopy is well cut, showing small regular features in calm repose.[3]

A few of the portraits of the Popes of this age have been delicately traced in miniature, and even delineated by the needle. On the Ascoli cope, the adventures of which in recent years brought it so strongly to the public notice, we see the faces of four successive Popes from Innocent IV. to Clement IV. But a glance at the lovely features given them is enough to show that they are merely the outcome of the imagination of some pious nun.[4] Just alluding to other existing contemporary miniatures of Innocent III., and Innocent IV., as too small to be of much account as portraits, we would call attention to the beautiful and striking miniature of Celestine V. which is to be found in the Capitular archives of the Vatican, and of which Vincenzo de Bartholomaeis has given a reproduction.[1] The shaggy bearded grave face of the hermit Pope is well brought out.

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[1] Venturi, however, *Storia d'Arte*, assigns this fine monument to Niccola and Meo di Nuto.

[2] On the question of the sculptor of this and the other statues of Gregory X. at Arezzo, see the recent work of A. del Vita in his *Il Duomo d'Arezzo*, p. 22 ff. See also the excellent illustrations of the tomb, etc., there given.

[3] Cf. C. Pinzi, *I principali mon. di Viterbo*, p. 131, Viterbo, 1916.

[4] They may be studied in the illustrations given by E. Bertaux, 'Trésors d'Eglises, Ascoli Piceno,' ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.*, 1897, p. 77 ff.

Lastly, the engraver has, it is believed, preserved for us a likeness of a Pope that is now lost. From Cavalieri the Bollandists give a portrait of the Dominican Pope Innocent V. which they believe to have been copied by him from a contemporary painting, probably in Sta. Maria sopra Minerva, or in Sta. Sabina. They were led to this belief by the monkish garb and especially by the large hood which the Pope is depicted as wearing. The hood is like that seen in old portraits of St. Dominic, which is larger than that now worn by his followers.[2]

As for the two remaining Popes (Celestine IV. and Martin IV.), out of the nineteen successors of Celestine III., we have to confess to failure to find any existing contemporary portraits of them. According to Vasari,[3] indeed, Buonamico Buffalmacco painted a portrait of the former after a drawing he had received from his master, Andrea Tafi. Unfortunately, however, it is not now to be found, nor is the tomb of Martin IV. by Giovanni Pisano. Were it extant it would no doubt have furnished us with his marble effigy.[4]

Portraits from 1305–1417

There now only remain for discussion the portraits of the Popes during the 'Babylonian Captivity,' *i.e.*, during the period of their residence at Avignon, and during the Great Schism of the West. When the Popes were almost forced by the turbulence of the Romans to leave their City on the Tiber, and to take up their abode by the Rhone, art also abandoned the Eternal City, and followed them to Avignon. Thus deserted by art and by the Popes, Rome well nigh completely withered away like the fig-tree cursed by our Lord. In fact, speaking generally, the whole of the fourteenth century was a disastrous epoch not merely for Rome but for all Europe. The terrible wars between England and France, and the great plagues blasted the face of the country and lowered the intellectual level of Europe, especially in the West. There was not, however, an absolutely universal decline in every branch of art and literature. Among the arts there was a great development of portraiture. When Vasari, in his *Life of Giotto*, tells us that that artist introduced 'the practice of making good portraits of living persons, a thing which had not been in use for more than two hundred years,' there may be exaggeration, but with the impetus which Giotto admittedly gave to art in general, he awoke a deepened interest in portrait painting. There arose a general desire to see and to possess portraits of well-known people, and so Petrarch tells us of one of his admirers at Bergamo who

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[1] In his edition of the *Cronaca di Buccio di Ranallo*, opp. p 64, Rome, 1907.

[2] *Propylaeum ad Acta SS. Maii*, pars Papebrochii, p. 105.

[3] i. p. 337.

[4] Cf. Marrotti, *Lett. pit. perug.* p. 21. But O. Panvinio was able to send to Fugger a copy of an authentic portrait, *Cod. Lat. Monac.* 158 f. 56. Cf. Hartig in note below, p. 313.

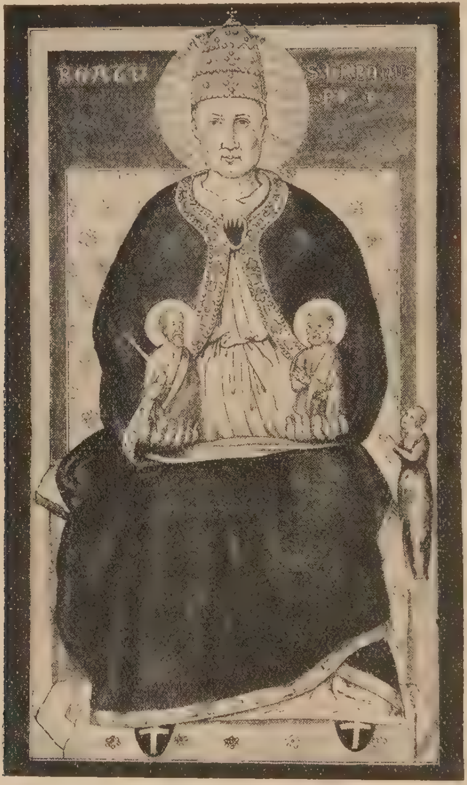

FIG. 13.—URBAN V.
[9201]
(From a drawing in the Dal Pozzo Collection at Windsor.
By permission of His Majesty the King.)

had 'his arms, name and portrait' in every corner of his house.[1] The portraits of Blessed Urban V. (1362–70) were found painted 'not only in the greater part of all the churches of Rome, but in many others all over Christendom,'[2] which helps to explain the fact that in the famous Dal Pozzo collection of drawings at Windsor there are three copies of portraits of Urban (Fig. 13). Vasari's biographies are full of examples of artists taking sketches of celebrities, and giving them to their pupils; and it became from this period onwards a very common practice with painters (we have already seen examples of it) to insert in their historical or allegorical paintings when they wished to introduce a Pope, authentic portraits of contemporary Pontiffs. Raphael, for instance, to take an example from a later period, introduced Julius II. into his 'Expulsion of Heliodorus'; in his 'Encounter with Attila,' Leo X. replaces Leo. I.; and in his 'Burning of the Borgo,' Leo X. replaces yet another Leo, namely Leo IV. Finally, one of the very earliest, if not the earliest, collectors and publishers of papal portraits, the distinguished antiquarian, Onofrio Panvinio, says, on the second page (the pages are not numbered) of his book,[3] that, owing to the revival of the art of painting, the portraits of the Popes from the time of Urban VI. were painted from life (*ad vivum*), and in his book copies of them were struck from metal plates (*typis*

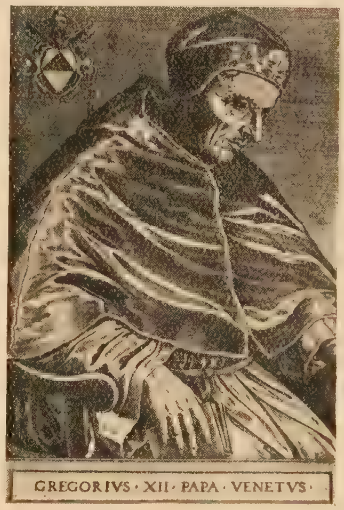

FIG. 14.—GREGORY XII.
(From an engraving by Panvinio.)

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[1] *Epp. Famil.* xxi. 11.

[2] Albanés-Chevalier, *Actes anciens*, p. 377, ap. Mollat, *Etude critique sur les Vitae Pap. Aven.* p. 57.

[3] *XXVII. Pontif. Roman. Elogia et imagines accuratissime ad vivum aeneis typis delineatae*, Rome, 1568. I owe the use of this book to the courtesy of Dr. T. Ashby, the Director of the British School, and I take this opportunity of thanking him and Mrs. A. Strong, the assistant Director of the School, for the kind help they have given me in the preparation of this paper. Cf. "Des O. Panvinius Sammlung von Papstbildnissen," by O. Hartig, ap. *Historisches Jahrbuch*, Munich, 1917, p. 284 ff. Cf. *Cod. Barb. Lat.*, 2738.

aeneis). He goes on to observe that portraits existed from Boniface VIII. onwards, and that, if not of the same elegance and perfection as the later ones, they were good considering 'the condition of the times' in which they were produced. He began his own series which he carried down to Gregory XIII. (1572–85) with Urban VI., 'because from him we have a continuous series of papal portraits painted from life.'[1]

In view of this specific statement, and in view of the fact that the mosaics of the Popes of the Great Schism in St Paul's resemble for the most part[2] the engravings of Panvinio, it may now be acknowledged that the said mosaics are authentic likenesses, not merely from Martin V., but at least from the days of Urban VI. We may, then, without further ado pass on to the Avignon Popes.

When Panvinio further asserted that papal portraits existed from Boniface VIII. onwards, he certainly chose a good starting-point. The number of portraits in marble, in metal, and in fresco of that outstanding Pontiff which have come down to us is quite exceptional for that period. We have of him marble statues by such masters as Andrea Pisano[3] and Arnolfo da Cambio, and frescoes by Giotto and other early masters. He was the first Pope in the Middle Ages to whom communities erected statues.[4] Plate XXIII., 1, is taken from the half-figure by Arnolfo da Cambio now in the Crypt of the Vatican. But, speaking broadly, we are not so well supplied with portraits of his seven successors at Avignon. One would have thought that these effigies on their tombs, some of which are so imposing, would have furnished us with speaking likenesses of the great French Popes who so strikingly impressed themselves on the soil of Provence. Most unfortunately, however, their recumbent figures, like the noble canopies beneath which they rested, have for the most part been mutilated either by the Calvinists and revolutionaries or by the criminal neglect of those to whose care they were entrusted. The figures, indeed, of two of them have been completely destroyed.[1]

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[1] Cf. in the Vatican library, *Cod. Barb. Lat.* 2738 of the same author.

[2] Fig. 14 is a reproduction of one of his plates. It is different from the one in the Munich collection. See Hartig, *l.c.*, p. 312. The Munich copperplate of John XXIII. is after Donatello, *Ib.* p. 313. It cannot be said that the mosaic of John XXIII. in St. Paul's resembles Panvinio's engraving of him. But, as Panvinio's portrait is that of a younger man wearing a mitre, he may have taken his likeness from a portrait made before John became Pope. The portrait of Boniface IX. which we give (Pl. XXIII., 2) from his sepulchral monument resembles that in the cloister of St. Paul's.

[3] At any rate Vasari (i. 483–4) states that the statue of him ('opera di stil grandioso e mirabilmente... condotta'), now unfortunately mutilated, which has after many wanderings found its way into the cathedral of Florence, was made by Pisano at the request of the Florentines. Venturi (*Storia d'Arte*, iv. 153–4) asserts that, if it was not the work of Arnolfo, it shows traces of his influence. An engraving of it may be seen (Plate 32) in L. Cicognara, *Storia della scultura*, i. Venice, 1813.

[4] C. Ricci, *Santi ed Artisti*, p. 29 f.

The statues of Clement V., the first of the Avignon Popes, have fared especially badly. The recumbent figure on his tomb at Uzeste has been so damaged that it is quite useless for portrait purposes. Until quite recently, however, it was thought that his features could be recovered from the statue of him over the door of the north transept of the Cathedral of St. Andrew at Bordeaux. But it has been conclusively proved by de Lapouyade that the original head of the statue was destroyed during the Revolution, and that another head, too small for the neck, has replaced it.[2] It would seem then that we are driven back on Cavalieri for a likeness of Clement V., for despite Vasari, it does not appear that Giotto ever painted his portrait. It has been thought that the engraving of Clement in Cavalieri's work has been taken from a genuine picture of him. It gives to the Pope an uncovered, bald, massive head with a broad face and somewhat heavy features, but it also gives him very unusual vestments, unlike those worn by a Pope, and showing no trace of the pallium. It seems then only reasonable to conclude that Cavalieri has copied some portrait of Bertrand de Goth painted before he became Clement V., perhaps when he was archdeacon of Bordeaux.[3]

In a chapel of the cathedral at Avignon there is to be seen a lofty Gothic canopy, damaged indeed, but still imposing, over a tomb upon which rests a mitred figure. It is not, however, a complete statue of John XXII., a Pope great in mind but small in body. As in the case of Clement V. the original head of the statue was destroyed, and in this instance has been replaced by the head of a bishop taken from some other statue. Müntz has called attention to the fact that an indifferent sketch of the eighteenth century shows that the original figure was beardless,[4] and that another sketch shows that the tiara he wore had only two crowns.[1] We know, however, the young-looking eager face of John XXII. from Ciacconius' copy of the mosaic which he placed over the portico of St. Paul's which he restored and decorated.[2]

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[1] Cf. E. Müntz in *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1887, pp. 276–85 and 367–87.

[2] Cf. his 'La statue de Clément V.' ap. *Revue hist. de Bordeaux*, 1912, p. 1 ff.

[3] Cf. the Bollandists, *Propyl ad mens. Mai.* Pars Papebrochii, p. 106.

[4] So also does the copy of John's mosaic at St. Paul's.

In his sepulchral monument and figure in the same cathedral Benedict XII. (1334–42) has suffered even worse than his predecessor. In Benedict's case neither the monument nor the figure on it are original. The form, however, of the original mausoleum is known to us from an engraving in the volume of the Bollandists we have frequently quoted, and the remains of it, still preserved in the Musée Calvet at Avignon, prove that their design is sufficiently exact. It was the work of John Lavenier, or 'John of Paris.'[3] The monument now given to Benedict is really that of cardinal John of Cros. Similarly from a report of 1689 we know that the original recumbent figure of Benedict was 'of white marble, of life-size, clad in pontifical vestments with the pallium and a tiara' with three crowns.[4] But the figure now to be seen beneath the canopy was only made in the last century by a sculptor named Cournot.[5] To find an authentic effigy of Benedict XII. we must descend into the Vatican crypts, and there we shall find a marble half figure. Certainly Benedict deserved to have a monument in St. Peter's, for the repairs he caused to be executed therein saved the venerable basilica from complete ruin. Accordingly over the door of the nave a monument with the above-mentioned figure was erected in 1341 by Pierre Laurent, the *Altararius* of St. Peter's. It was made, as the accompanying inscription states, by 'Magister Paul of Siena,' who received 'twenty florins of gold' for his work. When the old basilica was destroyed, only the effigy, which was originally painted in red and gold, was preserved. If not a first-class piece of sculpture, it shows us the Pope's face such as his biographers have described it, namely, as full, fat and clean-shaven. The illustration we give of it will save us from the necessity of further describing it.[6] (Plate XXIII., 3.)

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[1] As the tiara of Benedict XII. has three crowns, perhaps he was the Pope who added the third crown to the tiara.

[2] See *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 5407, f. 63 or 118. From the pose, etc., of his figure, it is clear that Cavalieri has taken his portrait of John XXII. from this lost mosaic. This is one proof that he copied existing models when he could find them.

[3] Cf. Faucon, 'Les arts à la cour d'Avig.' ap. *Mélanges d'archeol.* 1884, p. 100.

[4] Müntz, *Gazette*, 1887, p. 370–1.

[5] *Ib.* p. 373. See also Dufresne, *Les Cryptes Vatic.*

[6] Cf. also 'Le monument de Benoît XII.' ap. *Mélanges d'archéol.* 1896, p. 293 ff. by

With Clement VI. (1342–52) we come to the most magnificent even of the Avignon Popes, to the chief builder of their great fortress palace. He caused his mausoleum to be erected during his lifetime in the monastery of Chaise-Dieu where he had been a monk.[1] After his death his body was duly deposited in the Cathedral, but was subsequently transferred to the monastery. Unfortunately, however, the canopy was destroyed, and the recumbent figure much damaged in the wars of religion in 1562. But, apparently, the latter was skilfully restored some time afterwards, and now presents to our gaze a beardless refined-looking face, beneath a beautiful three-crowned pointed tiara.

It is a great pity that Orcagna's portrait of Clement no longer exists. According to Vasari that distinguished artist painted a fresco in the middle of the Church of Sta. Croce, in Florence, on a large wall on the right. In it he introduced the portraits of some of his dearest friends into his Paradise, while he condemned his enemies to hell. Among the elect was to be seen in Vasari's time the portrait in profile of Clement VI.[2] It is believed, however, that in a miniature of the Vatican Archives[3] there has been preserved a portrait of Clement VI. (Plate XXI.). The book in which it is found was dedicated to this Clement, and as it begins with a notice of Clement IV., it is thought that in conformity with the ideas of the times, the accompanying figure of Clement IV. gave the likeness of Clement VI.

Innocent VI. (1352–62) imitated his predecessor in causing his mausoleum to be made during his lifetime. Both its Gothic canopy, in the same imposing style as that of John XXII., and the recumbent figure beneath it are happily in a fairly good state of preservation. The

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G. Daumet; and Filippini, *La scultura nel trecento in Roma*, p. 101 f. and p. 123. Again we may note that Cavalieri's engraving is taken from an original, viz. the effigy just discussed.

[1] Cf. the Bollandists, *l.c.* p. 89.** The body of Clement VI. was transferred to the Abbey of Chaise-Dieu (Haute-Loire) in April, 1353. A. Hallays gives an illustration of a fragment of his tomb in the Musée Calvet, in his *Les villes d'Art célèbres, Avignon*, Paris, 1909. He had originally caused it to be erected in the middle of the monks' choir, and had adorned it with no less than forty-four small statues. Cf. E. Déprez, 'Les funérailles de Clement VI. et d'Innocent VI.' ap. *Mélanges*, 1900, p. 235 ff. and Bréhier, *L'art chrétien*, pp. 283, 369.

[2] Ed. Milanesi, i. 601, 'Ritratto di naturale.' It has been said that 'di naturale' in Vasari means 'life-sized.' The present passage and others show that very often at least it means 'from life.' Cf. especially *ib.* i. 612 and ii. 507–8.

[3] MS. Vat. Archiv. Armadio, 35, t. 70, *De Siciliae regno*, by the Aragonese cardinal, Nicholas Roselli.

monument was at first in a chapel of the Church of the Chartreuse at Villeneuve-les-Avignon, but is now in the chapel of the hospice. The figure of the Pope in fine Pernes stone which looks like marble is shown crowned with a tiara with three crowns. The face, with closed eyes in peaceful repose, has a long, delicately shaped nose, a small mouth, and a beard. Innocent is the only Pope of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries who wore a beard; Julius II. was the first to imitate his example, and to set the fashion for his age.[1]

Innocent VI. resembles Clement VI. in this, too, that his portrait has been preserved in miniature. In another Vatican MS.[2] he is depicted on one page as investing Charles IV. of Anjou with the city of Ancona, and on another page as standing erect by himself. In both cases, as to the figure on his tomb, the face of the Pope is given a beard (Plate XXI.).

Innocent VI. was succeeded by Urban V., the saint among the French Popes. As we have already noted, his portrait was soon to be found everywhere, and even at the present day there is no lack of them. We give a specimen of the three to be found among the Windsor drawings.[3] Apart from its value as a portrait (and it may be said that it resembles the other portraits of Urban sufficiently well) it is interesting inasmuch as it presents him in the same situation in which Pope Sylvester I. is frequently depicted.[4] That Pope is said to have shown to Constantine the portraits of SS. Peter and Paul in possession of the Roman Church, and from the twelfth century to the last, it was believed that the famous Vatican Ikon was the very picture exhibited to the Emperor. It is now acknowledged to be a votive picture perhaps painted by St. Methodius, the Apostle of the Slavs, in the ninth century.[5]

A more authentic portrait, however, of the saintly Urban is furnished us by his marble effigy at Avignon. As he was buried in the abbey of St. Victor at Marseilles, and as a magnificent monument was there raised to him, it might have been supposed that we should there find a good portrait of him. But in course of time it has been damaged to a greater extent than the majority of the tombs of the Avignon Popes, so that E. Müntz could even declare that the engraving of it given by the Bollandists is 'well nigh all that is left of one of the most sumptuous monuments of the fourteenth century.'[1] Fortunately, a cenotaph was erected to him at Avignon in the Benedictine Church of St. Martial, and its chief ornament, a beautiful figure of the Pope in alabaster, is still preserved in the Musée Calvet. The head of the statue is covered with the triple crown, while its face offers to our view large, well-shaped eyes, a big mouth, thin lips and a prominent chin. Even the unfortunate mutilation of the nose does not destroy the expression of happy sleep which the statue suggests, so that the eminent antiquarian we have just cited might well say that we are not in this case in front of a conventional or ideal statue, but that we have before us a true speaking likeness. Thus in possession of a good portrait of this art-loving and holy Pontiff, we need not be so much concerned that frescoes of him by Pietro Cavallini, and Tommaso, called Giottino, have perished.[2]

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[1] Cf. R. Michel, 'Le tombeau du P. Innocent VI. à Villeneuve-les-Avignon,' ap, *Revue de l'Art Chrétien*, 1911, p. 204 ff.

[2] Armadio, 35. Tom. xx. pp. 7 and 8 v. *I giuramente di fedeltà all' Inn. VI. per il cardinale Egidio Albornoz.* The knowledge of these miniatures I owe to Mgr. Ugolini, and I take this opportunity of thanking him for his courtesy.

[3] In the Dal Pozzo collection, Nos. 8937, 9202, 9201=Fig. 13.

[4] *E.g.* in the chapel of San Silvestro by the Church of the SS. Quattro Coronati. A. Munoz in his fine monograph of that Church has given two illustrations of the scene wherein Pope Sylvester shows the likenesses to Constantine: *Il restauro della chiesa de SS. Q. C.* Rome, 1914, p. 112, and Tav. XI.

[5] See A. L. Frothingham, Jnr. 'Byzantine artists in Italy,' *Journal of American Archaeol.* 1894, pp. 37–8.

Of the last of the Avignon Popes, Gregory XI., who brought the Babylonian captivity to an end, we do not appear to be possessed of a portrait of the same degree of authenticity as that supplied by the recumbent figure of Urban V. According to Vasari,[3] Taddeo Bartoli 'sent to Arezzo a picture which is in S. Agostino' containing a portrait of Pope Gregory 'the one who returned to Italy after the papal court had been so many decades in France.' But of this picture there is now no trace, and as there does not appear to be a portrait of him in Avignon, we naturally turn to Rome to look for one. In the Church of Sta. Francesca Romana in the Forum, there is a relief executed by Olivieri in the days of Gregory XIII., representing the Pope on horseback making his triumphal entry into Rome. But, though interesting and well executed, it is not only not contemporary, but is seemingly of no value as far as providing an accurate portrait of the Pope is concerned. The mere fact that Gregory is depicted with a pointed beard is enough to show that there is here no question of an authentic likeness. The Romans, to whom as to their own people, the Popes have seldom been prophets, showed no gratitude to the man who, by coming to Rome, raised it from the dead. They buried him in a plain coffin, on the lid of which was inscribed in Gothic letters: "Here lies the body of the Blessed Pope Gregory XI."[1] He shared the fate of Gregory XII. who also deserved well of the Church, but to whom is now allotted a miserable remnant of a monument in a dark corner of the cathedral at Recanati. We must be content to look on his face as it is to be seen in the engraving of Cavalieri, taken we know not whence.

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[1] See his article in the *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, 1884, pp. 84–104, 'La statue du P. Urbain V. au musée d'Avignon.' He gives an engraving (Pl. 15) of the statue, and mentions a fresco of the Pope in a ruined church at Ninfa, another portrait on wood in the Museum at Bologna, etc.

[2] Vasari, i. 539, 626.

[3] ii. 38.

From the data now before us, we may conclude that while the portraits in old St. Paul's from the pontificate of Martin V., or even from that of Urban VI., are genuine, almost every one of the others is more or less imaginary, and yet in every period of the history of the Popes a certain number of authentic portraits are available. The most that can be said is that the nineteenth century artists were more or less inspired by the seventeenth and eighteenth century copies made of the portraits in old St. Paul's, especially by those of Marangoni. Now then that the picture-cards, so to speak, have been collected and sorted into appropriate groups, the more thorough appraising of the contents of each group and the more systematic contrasting of them with one another must be left to another occasion.

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[1] Lanciani, *The golden days of the Renaissance in Rome*, p. 2 f.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOL. IX. NO. 7.

SEPULCHRAL RELIEF OF A PRIEST OF BELLONA.

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG.

THE relief of a priest of Bellona, reproduced on Plate XXVI., is to be seen on the top landing of the staircase of the Biblioteca Vallicelliana—the ancient library of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri, which is now the seat of the *Società Romana di Storia Patria.* During the summer of 1917 when working almost daily in this library I repeatedly studied the interesting slab, and by the courtesy of the Assistant Librarian, Signor Cordella, was able to have it photographed, with a view to publication in the present volume of our *Papers.*

The relief was discovered in the year 1729 in the Vigna Mellini on Monte Mario which belonged at the time to the Fathers of the Roman Oratory.[1] It is of a sepulchral character, and adorned a tomb situated between the second and third milestone of the ancient *Via Triumphalis.*[2] Besides the slab in question, the inscription of a *fanaticus* of Bellona (*C.I.L.* vi. 2232) was preserved as early as the fifteenth century close to the same site (*ad crucem Montis Marii*) in the actual Villa Mellini, so that this section of the line of tombs was perhaps reserved as a cemetery for the priests of Bellona, who probably had a temple or shrine not far off on the *Mons Vaticanus*.

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[1] *C.I.L.* vi. 2233; I. B. de Rossi, *Inscriptiones Christianae,* ii. p. 205; Tomassetti, *La Campagna Romana,* iii. p. 12 f.

[2] The *Via Triumphalis* ran northwards from the *Pons Neronianus,* and after traversing the flat ground now known as the Prati di Castello, ascended the southern slopes of the Monte Mario to the right of the modern road, till it joined the Via Clodia at La Giustiniana. On the road and its name see the evidence collected by L. Morpurgo, *Bull. Com.* xxxvi, 1908, p. 125 ff., Tomassetti, *loc. cit.,* Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi iii.* p. 129 for the inscr. *C.I.L.* vi. 10247 discovered in 1554 under Julius III. The road was under the same *curator* as the Via Aurelia and the Via Cornelia (*C.I.L.* xiv. 3610, etc.), but the origin of the name is unknown. (Nissen, *Landeskunde,* ii. 563). The road is the subject of new researches by Dr. Ashby, to be published in some future volume of these *Papers.* See also the late Schneider-Graziosi, *Bull. Com.* xli. (1913), p. 54 ff.

The sepulchral monument to which our relief belonged was put up by a colleague to one L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of *Bellona Pulvinensis*. The relief itself with its long inscription aroused considerable interest at the time of its discovery. The earliest publication[1] is by Francesco Gori in his edition of the *Inscriptiones Antiquae* of Giovanni Battista Doni (1731), Plate VIII. 2, p. 135. Another, after a drawing communicated by Padre Giuseppe Bianchini [2] of the Oratory, was given by Muratori in his *Novus Thesaurus Vet. Inscr.* (1739), vol. i. p. cxxix, and the inscription alone was discussed by Lami in his curious dissertation, *Le Ciste Mistiche* (1742).[3] Since the middle of the eighteenth century, however, nothing of substantial value has been added to our knowledge of the relief. The editors of *Corpus* vi. 1 were unacquainted with its whereabouts.[4] In vol. iii. of Matz-Duhn (1882), p. 173, No. 3876, it is correctly cited as being in the Vallicelliana, but strangely enough Matz described it from a reproduction in Zoega without looking up the original. It is probably owing to the absence of any adequate publication that the relief which throws light on one of the most celebrated cults of ancient Rome has so nearly dropped out of the recent literature on the subject of Roman religion.[5]

The slab, which is of marble, measures 1 m. 30 cm. × 52 cm. The upper part (H. 93 cm.) is occupied by the full length figure of the priest.

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[1] Full reff. to the earlier literature in C.I.L. *loc. cit.* The illustrations in Zoega and Millin seem to be repeated from the earlier publications. So also Pottier-Saglio, fig. 815 (art. *Bellona*) is after Muratori; fig. 1986 (art. *Corona*) after Gori-Doni.

[2] I have examined Bianchini's own detailed and learned description of relief and inscription which still exists in MS. in the Bibl. Vallicell. (under T.1 'Selva per la Dissertazione di Lucio Larzio Anto Cistoforo Bellonario'); cf. Lais, *Cenni Storichi della Bibl. Val.* (1875), p. 12, and de Rossi, *loc. cit.*

[3] In *Dissertazioni dell' Accademia di Cortona*, vol. i. p. 735, p. 3 ff.

[4] See, however, *Addenda*, p. 3307, where the present locality is given.

[5] Briefly referred to by G. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus der Römer*, 2nd ed., p. 350 and n. 4. Also Graillot, *Culte de Cybele*, p. 134, n. 4 and *passim*; Cahier and Martin *Mélanges d'Archéologie*, iv. p. 5 (cf. Wüscher-Becchi in *Roem. Quartalschrift*, xiii. 1899, p. 94, n. 2).

The inscription, which is cut within the sunk panel of the plinth (H. 39 cm.) reads as follows :—

L. Lart/io Antho Cistopho/ro aedis Bellonae Pulvinensis / fecit C. Quinctius Rufinus Fratri et / Domino suo pientissimo cui et / monumentum fecit interius ag/ro Apollinis Argentei Quinctius Rufinus.

Owing to the late character of both sculpture and epigraphy, and to the nature of the subject, it is generally admitted that the goddess to whom Lartius was priest is not the old Italic Bellona, whose temple, probably situated W. of the Circus Flaminius, had been dedicated about B.C. 293 by Appius Claudius Caecus,[1] but the divinity worshipped under the name of Mā—the Mother—in Cappadocia and in Pontus, whence her cult was introduced into Rome in the time of Sulla.[2] From her warlike character Mā soon became assimilated to the Roman Bellona, whose worship, under the Empire, she seems to have entirely displaced in favour of her own. As Mā-Bellona she was likewise identified with *Virtus*, the valour of the Roman army. But it is her close association with the renowned cult of the Magna Mater which brought the Oriental Bellona into the prominence she enjoyed under the Empire. The two divinities, whose ritual had many traits in common, came from neighbouring regions of Central Asia-Minor, and it is natural that Mā-Bellona, as newcomer, should have sought the protection of an allied cult, already firmly established in Rome. On inscriptions Bellona is sometimes characterised as the *dea pedisequa*,[3] or follower of Cybele ; the festival of both goddesses was kept on the 24th of March—the *dies sanguinis*, when the image of the *pedisequa* seems to have followed that of the Great Mother in the procession, and so intimate was the alliance between the two that we shall not be surprised to detect many points of similarity in the accoutrement of their priests. The priests of Cybele, the *archigalli*, as distinguished from the lower order of *galli*, are known at present from two monuments only : the full length statue, unfortunately headless, given by Montfaucon,[4] which has now disappeared, and the half figure in relief on the staircase of the Palazzo dei Conservatori which, though frequently referred to and described, has been rarely well reproduced.[1] Both figures[2] afford precious points of comparison with that of the cistophorus of Bellona on the relief at the Vallicelliana which deserves a somewhat detailed description :

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[1] Jordan-Hülsen, *Topographie*, p. 554, and note 131 ; Platner, *Top. and Monum. of Anc. Rome* (2nd ed. 1911), p. 243 f.

[2] Wissowa, *op. cit.* p. 349 ; Th. Reinach, *Mithridate Eupator*, p. 241 ; Graillot, *op. cit* p. 99.

[3] *C.I.L.* vi. 3674a ; cf. Graillot, p. 100 ; Wissowa, p. 350. Cumont, *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscr.* 1918, p. 19.

[4] Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, i. Pl. 4 = S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire*, ii. 506, 6.

Lartius is shown standing slightly to the right, with the weight on the left foot and the right foot and knee at ease and turned outwards. His tunic, which is caught up at the waist to form an overfall, reaches half way down the leg and covers the arms only to the elbow. In this arrangement of the tunic, intended probably to leave the movements free for purposes of self-mutilation, the dress differs markedly from the long stola with tight sleeves to the waist worn by the Archigalli.[3] A long loose cloak is fastened on the right shoulder by a round brooch in the form of a five-petalled flower ; at the back this cloak falls to the ankles ; in front it crosses the breast and hangs from the left arm in zig-zag folds. On the feet are soft leather shoes tied round the ankles with thongs fastened together by a round fibula.

The short thick beard of the *Cistophorus* contrasts with the smooth beardless face of the Conservatori Archigallus[4] but both have long hair parted to the sides and, in the case of Lartius, puffed out over the ears. The hair of Lartius is confined by a thick wreath of laurel leaves—intended possibly to be of gold—adorned with three medallions of helmeted divinities: Mars, bearded, on the right; a goddess, who may be Bellona, in the centre; and Minerva (?) on the left.[1] A similar wreath adorned with a medallion of Zeus Idaios for the centre and that of Attis on each side is worn by the Capitoline Archigallus. These wreaths, which were often carried out in gold,[2] were no doubt a survival of the ancient kingly *insignia* of the priesthood,[3] and seem to have been a distinguishing mark of full priestly rank. For instance, in an inscription from Theveste (Dessau, ii, 5432) one *Nonius Elphideforus*, who held in the cult of Bellona an office similar to that of Lartius,[4] is defined as *coronatus cistifer*, to indicate a different and higher grade to that of the ordinary *cistiferi*. The wreath is worn by the priestly figure at Cherchel, by the priests of the Arval Brotherhood, etc. Of the *Arvales* it is stated by Pliny (*N.H.* xviii. 6) that the wreath was tied with a white fillet: *spicea corona quae vitta alba colligaretur*.[5] Lartius, too, has fillets of knotted wool hanging from his wreath to his shoulders. The ends of similar fillets appear on the Montfaucon figure and on that of Laberia Felicla, a high priestess of Cybele, on a grave stele of the Vatican.[6] The Conservatori Archigallus, who seems to be a personage of great importance, has double fillets that hang as far as the waist on either side.

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[1] Poor cuts in Saglio-Pottier *s.v. Gallus*, fig. 3482, and S.Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs*, iii. 207, 1. The relief, the most interesting of its kind, will be published in the forthcoming vol. ii. of our *Catalogue of the Municipal Collections of Rome*. Lafaye (*loc. cit.*) is probably right in doubting the correctness of Chabouillet's identification of the seated and veiled figure in a cameo of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Chabouillet's Cat. No. 123) as that of an archigallus, but I have not been able to verify the facts.

[2] The figure at Cherchel (*Musée de Cherchel*, xv. 3 = Reinach, *Rép. Statuaire*, ii. 506), formerly considered to be that of a priestess, has lately been interpreted as a priest of Cybele ; but it has no distinguishing *insignia* save the crown, and fillets common to all priesthoods. The figure on the tombstone of a priest of Isis and the Magna Mater, from Ostia in the Lateran Mus. (Benndorf-Schoene, No. 80 ; Paschetto, 'Ostia,' in *Atti dell' Accad. Pontif.* 2nd ser. x. ii a, 1912, p. 165 = Graillot, Pl. VI.) seems attired as an Attis, and may be Attis himself, but scarcely a priest.

[3] Graillot, p. 236, p. 297, etc.

[4] The *galli* wore long hair. (*C.I.L.* vi. 2262. *Religiosus a Matre Magna capillatus* ; Ovid, *Fasti* iv. 238, etc.) in common probably with most Oriental priesthoods, *e.g.*, of a priest of the Syrian goddess : *fanatico furore simulato dum Syriae deae comas iactat.* Florus ii. 7 (iii. 19). M. Cumont, to whom I owe this ref., also points out that the hair of the *galli* was held back by a net, *Anthol. Pal.* vi. 219. 4 (στρεπτῶν ἅμματι κεκρυφάλων) a detail not visible in the monuments. The figure from Anzio in the *Terme*, which I continue to regard as that of a boy, likewise wears long hair knotted over the forehead.

Both Lartius and the Archigallus of the Conservatori wear gold torcs round their necks, ending in heads of wolves (?) linked together by a disc.[7] In the Montfaucon figure, if we may trust the engraving, the ends of the torc are in the shape of a flower with a third flower between them. Unlike the priests of Cybele, Lartius has no pectoral ornaments. His ritual attributes, however, are analogous to those of the Conservatori Archigallus; in his left hand he holds two double axes, with which the devotees of Bellona were wont to mutilate themselves, and in his right he carries the laurel twig with which to sprinkle the faithful with his blood.[1] So, too, the Archigallus has his instrument of self-torture—in his case the scourge or *flagellum* of cord and knucklebones suspended on his left side, while in his raised right hand he holds, together with a pomegranate, three pomegranate twigs to serve as *aspergillum*, though of what nature the *aspersiones* of the Galli were, whether of lustral water or of blood, is not clear. On the ground, to the right of Lartius, is his *cista* with closed lid; it is evidently made of basket-work, and one of the handles by which it was raised is visible.[2] A similar cista, but with taller, more pointed lid, and provided with a hanging strap instead of handles, appears on the left of the Archigallus.

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[1] This is how they seem interpreted in Gori-Doni. Even with the help of a strong magnifying glass it is difficult to make out the heads very distinctly on the original slab.

[2] Graillot, p. 237, for long hair, wreath and torc, and note 1 for the gold wreaths (cf. p. 351). Cf. the medallions on the wreaths of countless priestly busts from Palmyra; for crowns adorned with busts in the round see G. F. Hill in *Oesterr. Jahreshefte* (1899), i. p. 241 ff. (portrait head found at Ephesus).

[3] Cf. the passage from Theon of Smyrna quoted by J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena*, Ed. 2, p. 593, note 1.

[4] Cumont in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1919, p. 256.

[5] Cf. Wissowa, art. *Arvales fratres* in Pauly-Wissowa, p. 1470. The attempt made by Wüscher Becchi (*Röm. Quartchriftals*, xiii. 1899, p. 105) to derive the appendages of a Bishop's mitre (*fasciae*, *penduli*, *infulae*, etc.) from the *vittae* of the pagan priesthoods is contested by J. Braun, *Die liturgische Gewandung*, p. 460.

[6] Amelung, *Vat. Kat.*, ii. p. 614, and Plate 58. No. 403 (Gall. delle Statue), Dessau II 4160.

[7] The species of animal is difficult to make out. It seems to be clearly a wolf in the torc of the priest of Bellona to whom possibly wolves were sacrificed as it is conjectured they were in the cult of Mithras (Cumont, *Mithras* II. p. 69); the heads of the torc of the Conservatori Archigallus are perhaps those of dogs. Cf. Graillot, p. 237, n. 6. The torc is usually taken to be identical with the *occabus* (*C.I.L.* x. 3698, l. 23: *occavo* (sic) *et corona*: also the inscription at Lyons of the year 160 A.D., *C.I.L.* xiii. 1751, l. 15: *occabo et corona*). Cf. Lefaye in Pottier-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Gallus.'

That the attire of Lartius is fully sacerdotal seems clear from its close agreement in all essentials with that of the Archigalli of Cybele. The question next arises as to what precisely was the office of *cistophorus* or cista-bearer in the cult of Bellona. Quite recently fresh light has been shed on the subject by an inscription from the end of the first century or beginning of the second, discovered at Madaura in Numidia and commented by M. Franz Cumont.[3] The text opens as follows:

[nomina ci]STHIFERORVM . DEAE . VIRTVTIS
[qui aras] DVAS DEXTRA . SINIXTRA ET GRADVS D.S.F.[4]

Then follows in two columns a list of names of priests and other persons who had dedicated the monuments[5] mentioned in l. 2 to the *genius* of the *Cistiferi* (= *cistophori*) of Virtus-Bellona. Four among these personages are further distinguished by the addition of *sac.*=*sacerdos*, so that evidently a *cistophorus* was not necessarily—any more than a *gallus*—a fully ordained priest. His humbler function may have been to act as one of the bearers of the *ferculum* or platform on which the *cista* was borne, like the image of the goddess herself, while only the high priests would have the right of handling the holy receptacle. It has been fairly well demonstrated by M. Graillot that the *cista* carried in the processions of Cybele contained the vital parts, the *vires* of Attis.[1] This is also the opinion of Mr. E. M. W. Tillyard, who in a recent paper contributed to the *Journal of Roman Studies* publishes an altar of peculiar interest which shows the sacred *cista* solemnly enthroned and placed upon the *ferculum*, being actually carried in procession by four galli[2] in a manner similar to that in which the image of the Magna Mater itself is seen carried in procession on a sarcophagus at San Lorenzo.[3] It is nowhere expressly stated that emasculation was practised by the priests of Bellona, but considering the many close analogies between the rites of Cybele and those of her *pedisequa*, we may assume that the contents of the *cistae* were of a similar character in both cults. One of the chief functions of the *cistophorus coronatus* may have been to place the *cista* on the *ferculum* when the procession began and to receive it at its close. The handles of the *cista* on the Vallicelliana relief suggest that it was raised by two *cistophori*, and carried between them when not on the *ferculum*. An interesting inscription found some twenty years ago at Cherchel shows, as M. Cumont points out,[4] that Bellona, like Cybele, was borne in the procession on a *ferculum*, and we may assume that so was her *cista*.[5] It is to be hoped that some monument of equal importance to the altar discovered by Mr. Tillyard may turn up to throw further light on these obscure details of ceremonial.

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[1] Graillot, p. 99 f. So, too, in the procession of Isis described by Apuleius, a priest is described as holding a golden branch most delicately worked (*attollens palmam auro subtiliter foliatam*) in one hand, and in the other the caduceus (Apul. ed. Eyssenhardt, xi. ch. 10, p. 211).

[2] Owing to the inaccuracy of the old illustrations this has frequently been described as an ornament in the shape of a crescent!

[3] *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, 1918, p. 312. Since then M. Cumont has accepted M. Stéphane Gsell's reading [CI]STHIFERORUM for the earlier emendation [HA]STHIFERORUM, *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, 1919. In either emendation the aspiration of the T would be explained as a provincialism.

[4] I.e. *de suo fecerunt*.

[5] For the [*exedras*] originally suggested, Cumont now proposes [*qui aras*].

To return to the inscription, the cognomen *Anthus* (Ἄνθος = flower) tends to show that the priest was of foreign, probably Graeco-Oriental birth or extraction.[1] On the other hand, the *nomen* of Lartius suggests a connexion with the patrician *Gens Lartia* of some member of which the priest or one of his forebears was possibly the freedman. The Quinctius Rufinus[2] who set up the memorial *fratri et domino suo pientissimo* uses *dominus* to indicate his religious superior, and *frater* in the sense of religious brotherhood—a meaning of *frater* which, as M. Cumont kindly points out to me, occurs likewise in the mysteries of Mithras (*e.g. C.I.L.* vi. 727, etc.) while the Christian formula *fratres carissimi* is actually found in the cult of Jupiter Dolichenus (*C.I.L.* vi. 406 = 30758).

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[1] Graillot, p. 179; cf. Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie*, ii. p. 1552.

[2] *J.R.S.* vii. 1917, p. 284 ff. The altar is in the possession of Mr. G. A. Warren, of Streatham Hill.

[3] Reinach, *Reliefs* iii. 321, 1.

[4] Cumont, *op. cit.* p. 9. The inscr. was published by R. Cagnat in *Année Epigraphique*, 1898, p. 61: *Deae pedisequae Virtutis* (*i.e. Virtuti*) *Bellonae lecticam cum suis ornamentis et basem C. Avianus Amandus, augur d*(*onum*) *d*(*edit*) *et consecravit.* Cumont makes it clear that *lectica* is used here in the sense of *ferculum*.

[5] See the examples, *s.v.* 'Anthus,' in Forcellini's *Onomasticon* new ed.

'The Field of the Silver Apollo,' where the tomb was erected, took its name from some shrine of Apollo that contained a silver image of the god.[3] The same topographical formula appears, as Schneider-Graziosi has shown, in two other inscriptions,[4] so that evidently the shrine and its site were of some importance. It would be satisfactory to be able in conclusion to say something certain about the locality of the temple of Bellona to which Lartius was attached. One of his colleagues, as we have seen, a *fanaticus* of Bellona, was buried in a neighbouring tomb to his own, and if we may assume that there was a group of *Bellonarii* buried on this spot, it looks as if the temple were not very far off, but Platner and other authorities assert that 'its location is unknown.' The celebrated inscription of A.D. 236 from Kastell near Mayence (*C.I.L.* xiii. 7281), which records that the *hastiferi*[5]—another priestly college of Bellona

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[1] On the other hand, in the procession of Isis described by Apuleius (ed. Eyssenhardt, xi. ch. 11) both the *cista secretorum capax*, and the little urn that contained the 'ineffable mystery' were carried by priests. Allowance must also be made for differences of usage within the same cults. In Catholic processions, too, the Monstrance, though generally carried, may sometimes be seen placed on a car, as in processions of the 'Corpus Domini' in Spain.

[2] The Cognomen Rufinus is one of the commonest (see Deane, *Cognomina of Soldiers in the Roman Legions*, p. 46 and p. 466) or else it might be suggested that Rufinus, = blood-red, had some connexion with the cult of Bellona, one of whose epithets *Rufilia* some have attempted to explain in allusion to the 'blood-red' character of her cult, though as Aust (*l.c.*) points out, the epithet *Rufilia* more probably represents the name of the dedicator (cf. *Fortuna Flavia. C.I.L.* vi. 187).

[3] This shrine has nothing to do with a supposed *templum Apollinis* in the *ager Vaticanus* mentioned in the *Liber Pontificalis*, see Duchesne, *Lib. Pont.* i. p. 193, where it is shown as against De Rossi (*loc. cit.*) that a temple of Apollo in the Vatican region probably never existed at all. Cf. Jordan-Huelsen, p. 659.

[4] Schneider-Graziosi in *Bull. Com.* xli. 1913, p. 54 ff., on *C.I.L.* vi. 29967 (a b *Apolline Argenteo*) and *C.I.L.* vi. 21861. Cf. *C.I.L.* vi. 26, *aedes cum sigillo Apollinio*.

[5] On their functions, which he takes to be those of δορυφόροι, see Cumont's paper referred to above; also Hepding, *Attis*, p. 169; and Gruppe, *loc. cit.*

—*Civitatis Mattiacorum*, restored a *Mons Vaticanus* which had fallen into ruin through age, is taken by all the commentators[1] to refer to a temple or shrine set up in imitation of the great *Phrygianum* or temple of Cybele on the Vatican hill. Graillot, indeed, goes so far as to suggest that the Roman colonies possessed a *Mons Vaticanus* much as they did a *Capitolium*. But though there is evidence of *taurobolia* in honour of Cybele taking place at Lyons and other places[2] in association, so to speak, with the sacrifices offered at the mother-shrine in the Vatican, there is little or no evidence for the existence of shrines actually called *Mons Vaticanus* outside that provided by the inscription of Kastell. At present there seems nothing to prevent our giving to the Kastell inscription its obvious meaning which would seem to be that the *hastiferi* of Bellona of Castellum-Mattiacorum had restored a *Mons Vaticanus* in their native city, so-called in honour of a shrine on the Vatican hill in Rome, just as in our own days innumerable rock shrines imitate the original grotto of Lourdes. The expression *Mons Vaticanus* which only the supreme importance of St. Peter's has narrowed down in modern times to the one hill which is the actual site of the basilica and its dependencies was, in antiquity, more strictly used in the plural; while the *ager Vaticanus* was a vast region extending as far as the sea. It may at least be surmised that somewhere in the neighbourhood of the Temple of the Magna Mater, either on the same hill or on another of the *Montes Vaticani*, was another temple dedicated to her *pedisequa*. The conjecture is warranted by the existence of tombstones of priests of Bellona on the *Via Triumphalis*. The epithet *pulvinensis* shows that it was no mere shrine or chapel within the precinct of the Magna Mater, but an official temple with a *pulvinar*.[3] Under the Empire the cult of Bellona was only second in importance to those of the Magna Mater and of Mithras, and it is to be hoped that the locality of her worship in Rome may still be ascertained.

It is thought that the official temple of Bellona Pulvinensis cannot have been earlier than the third century A.D., and our relief, owing to the almost frontal pose of the figure and to the way in which the pupil of the eye is not only incised but raised slightly upward, can hardly be dated before the period of Caracalla.

[1] See especially *C.I.L.*, xiii. 1751, l. 10, and what Huelsen says (Jordan-Huelsen, p. 659, n. 93.

[2] Jordan-Huelsen, p. 554, n. 131.

[3] Cf. Wissowa, *Religion u. Kultus* (2nd ed.), p. 349 f

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. 8.

A BRONZE PLAQUE IN THE ROSENHEIM COLLECTION.

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG.

THE bronze plaque with bust portrait of Aristotle reproduced on Plate XXV. by kind permission of its present owner, Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, was once the property of the English College in Rome—the venerable institution whose history has recently been made the subject of an important and exhaustive monograph by His Eminence Cardinal Gasquet.[1] An illustration of the plaque taken from the same photograph as the present plate, together with brief notes contributed by Dr. Ashby and myself, has already been given[2] in His Eminence's book. Dr. Ashby's note appears in the earlier part of the book, which was already printed off when my own note, written after the re-discovery of the plaque, was sent in. The later account, therefore, could only be hurriedly inserted on the eve of publication, without time for a proof, and I gladly take this opportunity of amplifying and correcting it.[3]

The old label still attached to it shows that the plaque already had a long history behind it when it came into the possession of the Collegio Inglese, having belonged in turn to Henry VIII. of England, to Cardinal Reginald Pole, to Cardinal William Allen and to his secretary, Roger Baines, who left it by will, among other 'pious donations,' to the Library of the College. It disappeared along with other treasures in the troubles brought upon the College by the French occupation of Rome in 1798. Since then the plaque has been practically lost sight of, and few of the scholars who have discussed this type of Aristotle seem even to have known that it ever existed. Neither Courajod,[1] who knew five of the replicas of this Aristotle, nor Molinier in his *Plaquettes* (under No. 643), nor again Bernoulli in his *Griechische Iconographie*,[2] make any mention of this particular example. But Seroux d'Agincourt had left a description of it, accompanied by a sketch, among his voluminous MS. notes for his work on the history of art, now preserved in the Vatican Library,[3] and on d'Agincourt's authority the plaque was referred to by Ch. Huelsen in his exhaustive list of inscribed terminal portrait-shafts.[4] Some years later, Dr. Ashby detected on the back of a drawing by John Alexander in the British Museum[5] the copy of the description of a portrait of Aristotle at the English College which was evidently the same portrait described by d'Agincourt and noted by Huelsen, though the existence of the original was still unknown. Finally the researches instituted by Cardinal Gasquet in preparation for his book lent a fresh interest to the whole question, and last summer, in answer to enquiries set afoot by Dr. Ashby and myself, we were informed by Mr. G. F. Hill, Keeper of the Department of Coins and Medals at the British Museum, that the plaque was purchased some years ago by the late Max Rosenheim at the Warneck sale in Paris, and was still in his collection. By the courtesy of the present owner, Mr. Maurice Rosenheim, the plaque was deposited for my inspection at the British Museum. At the same time that it was photographed, a cast of the 'Aristotle' was taken by

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[1] *A History of the Venerable English College, Rome.* By Cardinal Gasquet. London, 1920.

[2] By permission of the Faculty of Archaeology of the British School at Rome.

[3] The substance of the present note appeared in the Cardinal's book, where, however, Dr. Ashby's account and mine should have been unified, had there been time in which to see the proofs.

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[1] Courajod, *Gazette des Beaux Arts*, xxxiv. 1886, pp. 191 ff. Courajod and Molinier both believe that the 'Aristotle' had a 'Plato' as counterpart.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 88.

[3] *Cod. Vat. Lat.* 9846 f., 98 (kindly verified for me by Monsignor H. Mann).

[4] *Roem. Mittheilungen*, xvi. 1901, p. 178, 28*.

[5] T. Ashby: *Forty Drawings of Roman Scenes by British Artists* (1715–1850) *from originals in the British Museum* (1911), p. 7; the drawing (Plate I.) is of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and is dated 1715.

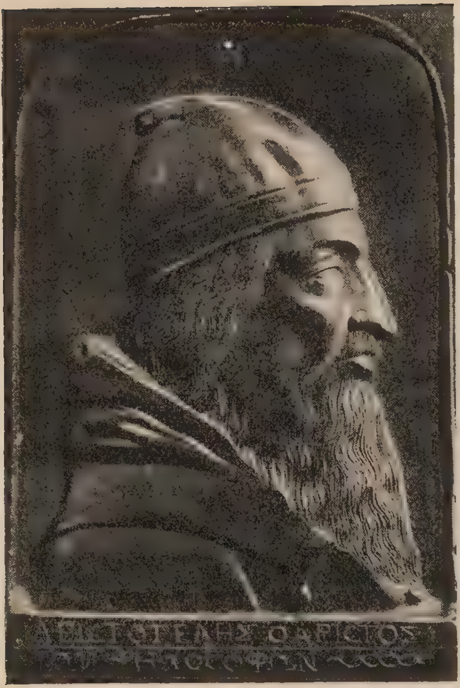

FIG. 1.—BRONZE PLAQUE IN MODENA.

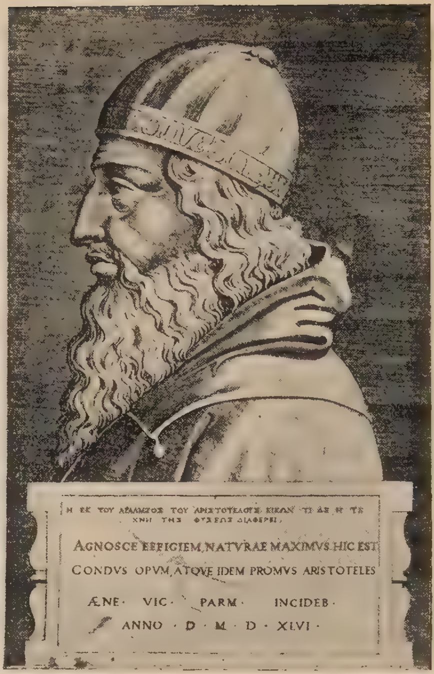
AGNOSCE EFFIGIEM, NATVRAE MAXIMVS HIC EST
CONDVS OPVM, ATQVE IDEM PROMVS ARISTOTELES
ÆNE· VIC· PARM· INCIDEB·
ANNO · D · M · D · XLVI ·

FIG. 4.—PRINT BY ENEA VICO, 1546.

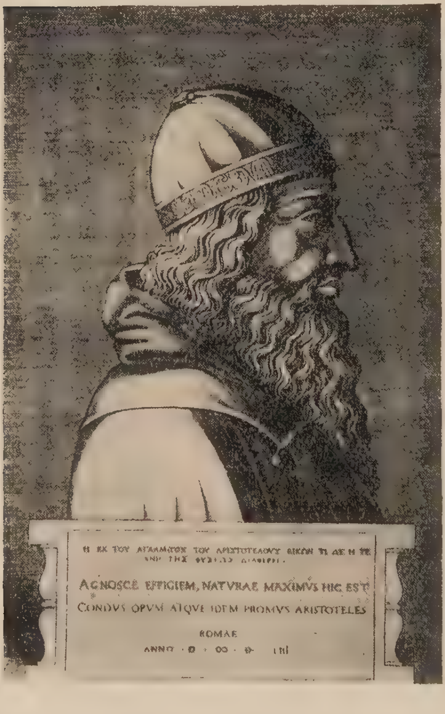
AGNOSCE EFFIGIEM, NATVRAE MAXIMVS HIC EST
CONDVS OPVM ATQVE IDEM PROMVS ARISTOTELES
ROMAE
ANNO · D · ∞ · D · LIII

FIG. 5.—ENEA VICO'S PRINT REVERSED, 1553.

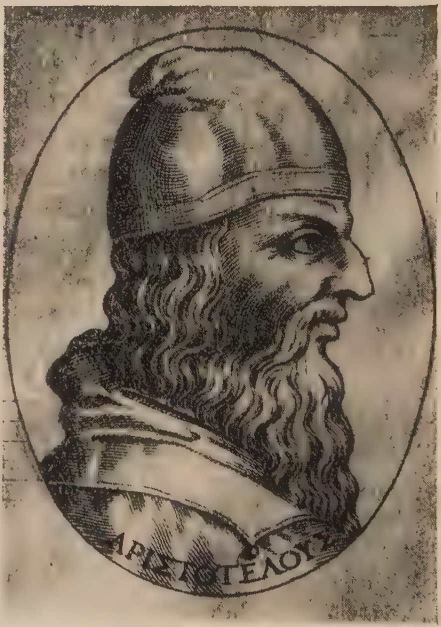

FIG. 6.—FROM THE *Imagines* OF F. ORSINI.

Mr. Ready, and was afterwards presented to the College in place of the vanished original.[1]

The plaque is 32 cm. high and nearly 19 cm. broad, rounded at the top and pierced with holes for suspension or attachment. The philosopher is represented in profile, facing right, with long hair and beard, wearing the doctor's cap with tassel[2] and the doctor's hood and gown. Below, on the plinth, runs the inscription in three lines

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ | Ο ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ | ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ

Style, workmanship and composition point to the close of the fifteenth century as the date of its production, and there is obviously no question here of a genuine portrait of the philosopher. Five other replicas exist (enumerated by Courajod and Molinier) which are respectively in Florence (Bargello), Modena (Fig. 1),[3] Venice (Mus. Correr), Brunswick, and the Coll. G. Dreyfus in Paris. I have not been able to procure information as to all these, but from the almost identical measurements and technique of the Florence[4] and Collegio Inglese examples, it seems probable that all the plaques were taken from the same mould and that any slight variants between them are due to retouching with the chisel.

The 'Aristotle' was likewise reproduced in medal form, and I am much indebted to Mr. G. F. Hill for the following description of two examples in the British Museum :—

"1. *Cast bronze medal* (Fig. 2, a). *Obv.* Bust of Aristotle to r.; wearing round cap, with legend

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ Ο ΑΡΙΣΤΟΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΙΛΟΣΟΦΩΝ

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[1] Mr. C. F. Bell, of the Ashmolean, Oxford, and Mr. Henry Oppenheimer (who, moreover, obtained the cast for me) were also good enough to give information as to this and other replicas.

[2] On Aristotle with a cap see Bernoulli, *loc. cit.* In the fresco of 'St. Thomas in Glory' in Sta. Caterina at Pisa, attributed to F. Traini, Aristotle also wears a cap—though of round rather than pointed shape—in contrast to Plato, who is characterized as an Oriental by the embroidered shawl round his head.

[3] Venturi, *Galleria Estense in Modena*, p. 82. The illustration in my text is after a photograph kindly procured by Cardinal Gasquet.

[4] By the courtesy of the Director of the Bargello, Dott. G. de Nicola, I have received a photograph of the Bargello replica with details as to its dimensions, etc. It measures 325 cm. × 183 cm., and seems in every respect a replica of the Rosenheim example.

Rev. Pegasus rising r. from rock. [This reverse is a surmoulage from the medal of Cardinal Bembo by Benvenuto Cellini.] Diam. 49·5 mm.

Note.—Molinier (644) describes a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale two millimetres smaller. Neither specimen can be as early as the fifteenth century, since the reverse is a mechanical reproduction of Cellini's medal of Bembo (about 1539–40). But the obverse may be cast from an earlier specimen.

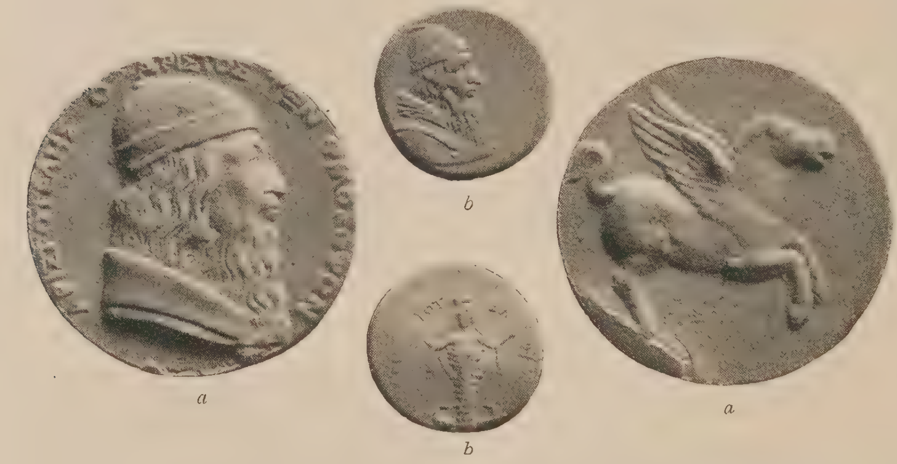

FIG. 2.—TWO MEDALS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

2. *Struck silver medalet* (Fig. 2, b). *Obv.* similar to preceding, but without inscription.

Rev. ΑΡΙΣ ΤΟΤ ΕΛ ΟΥΣ above image of the Ephesian Artemis.

Diam. 22·5 mm.

Not earlier than sixteenth century.[1]"

The effigies of both large and small medal exaggerate, as it were, the features of the 'Aristotle' of the plaque, so that the sixteenth-century date assigned to them by Mr. Hill rather confirms than contradicts the earlier date proposed above for the plaque itself. It was inevitable that in the process of multiplication the character of the face should be altered, but the descent from the portrait of the plaque is always clear.

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[1] Mr. Hill adds: "In the L. Welzl v. Wellenheim Cat. (Vienna, 1845) ii. No. 13121 is described a one-sided medal, of bronze, with evidently the same type and the inscription ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΟΥΣ. The size appears to be about 35 mm."

The 'Aristotle' was engraved by Enea Vico in 1546 (Bartsch xv. 338, No. 253).[1] Of this engraving, Dr. Ashby informs me, there is a copy reversed dated 1553 (Fig. 5),[2] and a still later copy with Lafréry's address,[3] showing the popularity of the effigy. It figures as an authentic portrait of the philosopher in the earlier edition (1570) of the *Imagines et Elogia* of Fulvio Orsini (p. 57)[4] though Faber, who re-edited the *Imagines* in 1606, doubted its authenticity and substituted for it a no less apocryphal Aristotle.[5] Orsini had been misled by a series of fakes or forgeries based on the plaque, all more or less directly attributable to the notorious Pirro Ligorio. Among these were a relief described as *tabella marmorea caput exhibens comatum et barbatum pilo tectum*, which Ligorio palmed off upon Cardinal du Bellay as a genuine antique, and two herms which he provided with heads imitated from the same type of Aristotle.[6] Enough has been said to indicate the value attached in the Renaissance to the portrait reproduced in our plaque and its replicas. As I understand that Dr. F. Studniczka, to whom we owe the recovery of the genuine portrait of Aristotle preserved in the heads at Vienna and in the Museo delle Terme,[7] is preparing a monograph on the sources of the *Imagines* of Orsini, I do not propose to dwell further here upon the iconography of the plaque.

Its interest in the present connexion lies chiefly in the long account of its history preserved on the old label already referred to. The writing has become nearly illegible through age, but the following transcript kindly made for me by Mr. G. F. Hill,[8] is in substantial agreement with the copy which was identified by Dr. Ashby on the back of John

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[1] Fig. 4 is after the example in the Print Room of the British Museum (by kindness of Mr. A. M. Hind).

[2] Fig. 5 is from the example in Dr. Ashby's collection.

[3] No. 185 of the copy described in Bernard Quaritch's *Rough List*, No. 135, pp. 119 ff., No. 1530.

[4] The *Elogia* was published by Lafréry. The text on p. 56 describes a marble relief (*tabella quaedam e marmore*, cf. above), but the illustration on the page facing is, to judge from its shape, after a gem (see Bernoulli, p. 88) which distorts the features of the head on the plaque to the verge of caricature.

[5] A relief, Visconti *Iconogr. Grecque*, i., p. 92, and pl. 20, 1; Bernoulli, *loc. cit.* and note 5.

[6] Huelsen, *op. cit.* p. 177, Nos. 26*, 27*. Apparently one of the herms was a genuine antique, the other a forgery; cf. Bernoulli, *loc. cit.*

[7] Bernoulli, p. 94 ff.; Studniczka, *Das Bildnis des Aristoteles*, p. 24. A. Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, pl 87.

[8] Mr. Hill tells me that the reading is chiefly due to Mr. C. R. Peers.

Alexander's drawing.[1] Corrections or additions from this copy, which was presumably made when the original was in better condition, are marked below as A.

HANC Ariſtotelis Iconem HEN$^{\text{cus}}$ VIII Angliæ
REX dum religionem litteraſque coleret ſummo
tamquam ab ipſo Philoſopho ¦ jam tum ſpirante, ductam,
habuit in pretio: Litterarum pietatiſque ſtudio in
5 ANGLIA collabente, eam CARD: POLUS. unicum
temporis ſui lumen, feritatem Regis declinans, Romā
detulit, quæ poſt aliquod annorum intervallum, felici
[caſ]u, ad CARD: ALANUM ingens e[tiam g]ẹṇṭịṣ
Anglicanæ ornam[ent]um pervenit, a quo cum fato
10 concederet, ROGERUS BAINESIUS qui [illi] tum ab
epiſtolis erat, dono eam accepit, ac vivis exiens Col-
[leg]jj Anglicani de URBE bibliothecæ egregium
[am]oris ſui **Μνημόσυνον** reliquit
[A.D.] VI IDUS OCTOB: AN^{o} MDCXXIII ∾

L. 10, *illi*, restored from A, seems necessary to make it clear that Baines was Allen's secretary. L. 14, *amoris*,[2] obviously the right reading, is confirmed by A. In A the two last lines are run together as follows: *amoris sui reliquit VII° Id. Octob. Anno* MDCXXIII Μνημόσυνη.

The five personages whose names are so vividly linked together by our plaque were each, in his different way, involved in the fortunes of the English College in Rome, but Cardinal Gasquet's book deals so fully with all these matters that it would be superfluous here to do more than comment briefly on two or three points raised by the story told on the label.

The statement that the plaque originally belonged to Henry VIII. reminds us that the cultivated Tudors apparently held Aristotle in high honour. If we may trust a conjecture of the late J. H. Middleton, it is Aristotle who, bearded like the figure of our plaque[3] and with 'a sword-knife and gypspere hanging to his girdle' as befits the 'fighting philosopher,' stands in the first niche to the left of the entrance in Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey.[1] There is no trace, however, of Henry's personal ownership of any portrait of Aristotle. The King was a noted collector, as the lists of objects of art belonging to him testify, but though several plaques and plaquettes are enumerated in these lists no 'Aristotle' figures among them.[2] The omission could perhaps be explained on the supposition that the plaque was only a short time the property of Henry. This is what had occurred to me when suggesting in my note to Cardinal Gasquet's book that the 'Aristotle' was perhaps procured in Italy by Reginald Pole himself in those years (1519–1527) when the future Cardinal stood high in his royal cousin's favour, and when after studying at Padua at Henry's own wish and expense, he visited the rest of Italy and came into close touch with its varied literary and artistic interests. Pole returned to England in 1527 and a first break with the King occurred in 1533 on the difficulties caused by the question of the Royal Divorce, at which time Pole received 'permission' to travel abroad once more. In these short and crowded eight years had the plaque been ever handed over? May not the language of the label be due to later amplification? On any theory it is difficult to see how Pole got hold of a plaque in the King's possession after the break between them. Yet if ever it was in England, Pole presumably took the 'Aristotle' away with him in 1533. He cannot have had it when he returned from abroad in 1544, since it is inconceivable that it should have left the country after his death at Lambeth in 1558. Pole was created Cardinal by Paul III. in 1537, and next year was appointed Curator or Guardian of the English Hospice in the Via Monserrato, which was transformed in 1575 into the English College. Here Pole lived when in Rome, and it is natural to suppose that he had the plaque with him, and left it at the College on his return to England. What the lucky accident was—indicated by the *felici casu* of the label—that afterwards brought the 'Aristotle' into the possession of Cardinal William Allen is likewise unknown.[1] Allen had been intimately connected with the foundation of the College, where he, too, lived even after his elevation to the Cardinalate (1587) though at his death (1594) the plaque apparently became the property, not of the College, but of the Cardinal's faithful friend and secretary, Roger Baines. Finally, when Baines died, the 'Aristotle' was legally made over by will to the College. At this point its adventures should have ceased had it not been for the Napoleonic happenings of the year 1798. May we not hope that an object so intimately connected as is the 'Aristotle' with the history of the oldest English institution in the Eternal City may some day be seen restored once more to its old Roman home?

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[1] During his stay in Rome in 1715, Alexander, like other distinguished Englishmen, was doubtless entertained at the English College, and would then see the plaque.

[2] [*am*]*oris* had been suggested by Mr. J. A. Herbert for Mr. Peers' [*hon*]*oris*.

[3] Here, if I interpret rightly a rough sketch before me, Aristotle wore a Greek hat similar to that of Palaeologus in Filarete's bust.

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[1] See J. T. Micklethwaite, 'Notes on the Imagery of Henry VII.'s Chapel'; *Archeologia* 47, 2 (1883), p. 368.

[2] I am deeply obliged to Mrs. R. L. Poole, of Oxford, for her kindness in hunting for some mention of the plaque through the Inventories of Jewelry in the 'Calendars of Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII.' (Brown and Gairdner). The following are interesting items in the present connection: 1523 (year), No. 5114, 'a tablet of St. John Baptist.—1530, No. 6789, under "Images," Our Lady of Boleyn with a subject; a gentleman of the Almain fashion, etc. . . . also *Twenty-five tablets and plates*, among which St. Margaret and St. Anne, Our Lady, St. George, St. Sebastian, St. Barbara, St. Peter, St. Christopher, etc.' But Mrs. Poole adds 'no Aristotle.'

Though not concerned here with the question of the portraiture of Aristotle, real or imaginary, I cannot resist suggesting in conclusion that the plaque which so long passed as a genuine portrait of *il maestro di color che sanno,* though its non-antique character is self-evident to modern eyes, may possibly be discovered in time to possess iconographic interest of another kind. That it is a portrait seems clear alike from the individuality of the features—evident especially in the high cheek bones, hollow cheeks and long upper lip—and from the precision of all the details of hair, beard and costume. This is no generalized traditional conception such as that which inspired the painters of 'St. Thomas in Glory' at Sta. Caterina in Pisa or at Sta. Maria Novella in Florence, where Aristotle is represented according to the purely conventional type so often given in the Renaissance to figures intended to represent ancient philosophers. There is much, therefore, to commend the suggestion thrown out by the young Belgo-Russian Hellenist, M. Léon Kochnitzky, to the effect that we have here under the guise of Aristotle an authentic likeness of some illustrious Greek scholar of the Renaissance. The suggestion gains in force, moreover, if we accept the view of both Courajod and Molinier that the 'Aristotle' had for counterpart a second plaque representing Plato. What more natural than to represent these philosophers with the features of scholars who had respectively championed their causes in the fifteenth century—possibly in the famous Council of Florence of the year 1439? Descriptions exist of these Greeks, whose long beards and shaggy hair roused the mirth, it appears, of the younger scholars of Florence, who, however, soon learned to recognise them as 'fully worthy of their ancestors . . . and still true to the traditions of the Lyceum and the old Academy.'[1]

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[1] A gift from Pole to Allen is out of the question, as Allen was only one year old when Pole left England in 1533, and did not go to Rome till nine years after Pole's death.

The Greek invasion of Italy had begun long before the Fall of Constantinople. In one of the minor scenes of the great bronze gates of St. Peter's Filarete depicted a sitting of the Council, and in after days people who had seen the *Graeci*—many of whom had established themselves in Italy—were pointed at with envy by younger contemporaries. Out of compliment to his labours, some Aristotelian of the calibre of Theodorus Gaza[2] or Georgius Trapezuntius might well be represented as

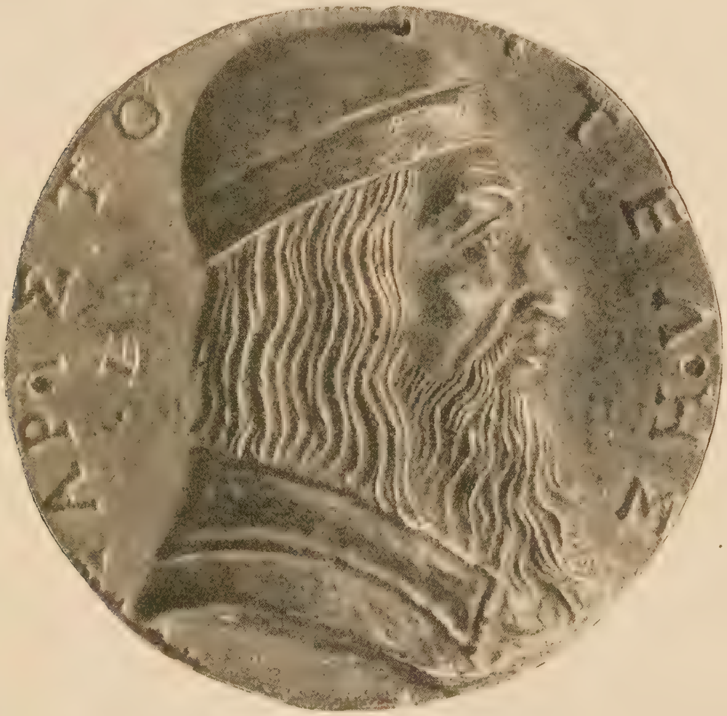

FIG. 3.—BRONZE MEDAL IN MUSEO CORRER.

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[1] J. E. Sandys, *History of Classical Scholarship*, ii. pp. 59 f.

[2] I am not referring here to the 'portrait' of Theodorus in the MS. of his Grammar at the Laurentian Library. By the courtesy of Mr. W. Ashburner, of Florence, and of Prof. Guido Biagi, a photograph of this lies before me; it is obviously a quite conventional type.

the great philosopher himself. Or should this appear too bold a conjecture, it may at least be surmised that an artist of the later Quattrocento took one of these learned Greeks as his model for the portrait of the illustrious philosopher, whose writings had so profoundly influenced medieval thought. It will be seen that the questions raised by the 'Aristotle' are not easy of solution. But the interest that now attaches to the replica in the Collegio Inglese will serve to make the whole series better known and perhaps also to bring to light the 'Plato' if that companion plaque really ever existed.

I am greatly indebted to Dr. Ashby for allowing me to publish what in the first instance was his discovery.

By the courtesy of the 'Direzione' of the Museo Correr in Venice, I receive—though unfortunately too late for insertion in the body of the article—a photograph of their version of the Aristotle (Fig. 3). It now appears that the Correr example is not, as was generally supposed, a replica of the plaquette with inscription as above, but a large medal measuring 8·1 cm. in diameter. The photograph shows it slightly enlarged. This medal presents variations from the plaquette in the treatment of hair and beard which here are lank and straight, in the shape of the head and line of profile, in the disappearance of the hood,[1] but the derivation is clearly from the same original. Inscribed ΑΡΙΣΤΟΤΕΛΗΣ.

According to Mr. G. F. Hill, who sends me the information, the British Museum also possesses a version of the medal (one-sided, of lead or pewter, diam. 104 mm.) in which the character of the cap is misunderstood (it is made taller, with regular ribbing, and has no turnover or tassel at the apex). The inscription is in Latin—·ARIS TOTELES· This version is evidently very late.

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[1] In the medals from the British Museum, likewise, the hood which appears in the silver medalet (above, Fig. 2 b) is reduced in the bronze medal (Fig. 2 a) to a border (that of the hood), treated so as to resemble a straight collar.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
VOL. IX. NO. 9.

NOTE ON A COPY OF THE *RESPONSIONES* OF ROBERT PARSONS.

BY MRS. ARTHUR STRONG.

ANOTHER memorial of Cardinal Allen and of his friends in Rome has lately been brought to my notice by Lord Gerald Wellesley, to whom it belongs, and may fitly be placed in record here in connection with the plaquette of Aristotle. This is a copy of the second edition (Rome, Zannetti, 1593) of the celebrated replies (*Responsiones*) issued seriatim to each clause of Queen Elizabeth's edict against Catholics in the year 1591: *Elizabethae Angliae Reginae Haeresim Calvinianam propugnantis saevissimum in Catholicos sui . . . Regni edictum . . . cum responsione ad singula capita . . . per D. Andream Philopatrum Presbyterum, etc.* It is common knowledge that the pseudonym of Philopater conceals the name of the famous English Jesuit, Fr. Robert Parsons, so that the authorship of the book alone takes us back into the circle of the English College at Rome, which Dr. William—afterwards Cardinal—Allen had helped to found in 1575, and of which Parsons had been appointed Rector in 1585.[1] But this particular copy, as the various inscriptions and stamps it bears testify, had sundry bibliographical adventures which it is not without interest to retrace. A dedication inside the cover reads:—

Hunc librum Cardinalis Alanus Anglus
Doctori Gerardo Vossio pro memoria Romae donavit
Anno Domini 1593. qui Vossius
eum postea dono dedit Praep^{to}
collegii Rom. S. Pauli in Col^{a}. 1606.

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[1] Card. Gasquet's *Hist. of the Ven. English Coll.*, chs. iii. and iv.

The first half of the dedication, down to the date 1593, is in a bold hand, which Monsignor Mercati, librarian of the Vatican, who was good enough to examine it, identified without hesitation as that of Gerard Voss. This same Voss (Vossius or Voskens) deserves at least the passing mention which most histories of scholarship deny him. According to the 'Dictionnaire de Moreri' he belonged to the same family as his more celebrated namesake Gerard John Voss. He was born at Loos in Flanders in 1547;[1] he graduated at Louvain in 1566, and about 1571 he came to Rome where his erudition won for him, among other friendships, that of the two learned Cardinals G. Sirleto and Antonio Caraffa. In 1593 Clement VIII. appointed Voss one of five *correctores* of the Greek and Latin MSS. in the Vatican Library, in view of pushing forward various projected editions of the Fathers. This is also the date of the second edition of Parsons's *Responsiones* which Cardinal Allen, who had been appointed Apostolic Librarian in 1591, under Gregory XIV., in succession to Caraffa, seems at once to have presented to Voss, doubtless as a peculiar mark of esteem, the *Responsiones* being assuredly valued by the Cardinal, both as being by his friend Parsons, and as expressing views that were also largely his own. It is probable, however, that Allen, who was himself a considerable scholar, and one of the Commission appointed under Sixtus V. for the Revision of the Vulgate, had known Voss before that date.

It is not without interest to learn that Voss was at one time *procurator* of Santa Maria dell' Anima, the Church of the Flemings in Rome, and that his library is said to have eventually found a home there.[2] Parsons's *Responsiones*, however, did not go with the rest of Voss's books to the Anima, for the second part of the inscription[3] shows that in 1606 Voss gave it to the *Praepositus*, or Provost, of the 'Roman College' of San Paolo alla Colonna. This may have been at the time that Voss left Rome to return to his native country, where he died at Liège in 1609.

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[1] I am much indebted to Sir John Sandys for providing me with notes on Voss from the account of him in vol. 50 of Zedler's *Lexikon* (Leipzig and Halle, 1750) which is not accessible to me here. Monsignor Le Grelle of the Vatican Library has most kindly provided me with further biographical notices which make it clear that Voss was a prominent figure in the learned world of the 'Counter Reformation.' See *inter alia*, *Valeri Andreae Bibliotheca Belgica*, Louvain, 1643, p. 285–6; *Joh. Fr. Foppaeus*, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, Bruxelles, 1739, vol. i. p. 382–3; Davis, *Hist. de Looz*, vol. ii. p. 20; Davis, *Hist. du Diocèse et de la Principauté de Liège pendant le XVIe Siècle*, Liège, 1884, pp. 631–2, etc., etc.

[2] See Jos. Schmidlin, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalkirche in Rome* . . . 1906, p. 523, a reference for which I am again indebted to Monsignor Le Grelle. The church of the Anima, originally Flemish, was eventually appropriated by the Germans.

[3] I have not succeeded in identifying the writing.

The little church of S. Paolo alla Colonna, to which our book passed, though now all but forgotten, was for the brief period of its existence one of the most important in Rome. It stood on the north side of the Piazza Colonna, and had been erected under Clement VIII.[1] by the Clerks Regular of St. Paul[2]—more popularly known as the Barnabites—who wished to centralise their various activities in a locality more accessible than was their mother-house at S. Biagio dell' Anello.[3] Moreover, a church dedicated to S. Paul, patron of the Barnabites, seemed peculiarly in place under the shadow, as it were, of the column upon whose summit a statue of the Apostle had only recently been placed by order of Sixtus V. (1589). At the bottom of the title-page of Voss's copy of Parsons's book is written : *Bibliot. Collegii Rom. S. Pauli in Columna*, the word 'college' which appears here and in the dedicatory inscription instead of 'congregation' being in accordance with Barnabite usage, so that *Coll. Rom. S. Pauli, etc.*, means nothing more than the Roman branch of the Barnabites established at S. Paolo.

The church was almost entirely destroyed by fire in 1617, rebuilt on an ample scale, but eventually demolished in 1659, by order of Pope Alexander VII., for the enlargement of the Palazzo Chigi. The Barnabites of San Paolo then rejoined their mother-house in Rome which had been removed early in the century from S. Biagio dell' Anello to the more spacious church of S. Carlo ai Catinari, where the order still flourishes.[4] With them they brought the book of Parsons which was now duly inscribed in MS. *Libreria di* (P†A) *S. Carlo di Catinari* inside the cover and stamped on the title page with the official die, *i.e.* the Barnabite monogram (P†A)[1] surrounded by the legend, *Bibliot. Collegi SS. Blasi et Carol. de Urbe.*

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[1] The Church, which had been begun some years previously, was opened to the public in 1596. See Orazio M. Premoli (Barnabite), *Storia dei Barnabiti nel Cinquecento*, 1913, p. 337 f., and cf. Armellini, *Chiese di Roma*, p. 312. It was the seat of the famous Academy of Music of Sta. Cecilia and of the Company of S. Ivo, founded by a number of lawyers to defend the lawsuits of the poor, and of various other confraternities. See *Memorie intorno alla Chiesa dei SS. Biagio e Carlo*, 1861, p. 39, and pp. 142–153 (qu^to^ ed. = p. 10 and pp. 37 ff. of fo. ed.).

[2] Founded at Milan about 1533 and surnamed 'Barnabites,' from the Church of St. Barnabas, which belonged to them in the sixteenth century.

[3] This very ancient church was given to the Barnabites by Gregory XIII. in 1575. *Memorie*, p. 9 (qu^to^ ed. = p. 3 of fo. ed.) ; Premoli, *op. cit.* p. 269.

[4] S. Carlo, to which the name of S. Biagio was prefixed in memory of the first Roman home of the Barnabites, was begun in 1611. In 1870 the convent was suppressed, and the Barnabites moved to the beautiful house, No. 6 Via Chiavari, which was once Cassiano dal Pozzo's. See Premoli, 'Cassiano dal Pozzo' in *L'Arcadia*, ii. 1918.

Soon after 1870 the greater part of the fine library attached to S. Carlo was transferred—to the number of 9,000 volumes[2]—to the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele then in process of formation. Among the books taken from the Barnabites was that of Parsons, though it was presently to be ejected as a 'duplicate,' its last library stamp being the well-known *Duplum Bibliothecae V. E.* The frequency of this mark on books in the market seems to show how unnecessarily some of the old Roman libraries had been despoiled of their treasures in favour of the 'Vittorio Emanuele,' which, since it had for nucleus the grand Jesuit library of the Collegio Romano, did not always require them. In the present instance the Vittorio Emanuele retained the copy which had belonged to the Collegio Romano, probably because it was the cleaner of the two, and was innocent of all autographs or inscriptions such as lend so peculiar an interest to the copy which had belonged to the Barnabites. Fortunately the precious little volume fell into the hands of Lord Gerald Wellesley, who at once perceived its bibliographical value. I am much indebted to him for leaving the book in my care, and allowing me to give here some account of its vicissitudes.

[1] I.e., *Paulus Apostolus.*

[2] See *Notizie Storiche, Bibliografiche e Statistiche delle Biblioteche Governative del Regno d'Italia*, Roma, 1891, p. 47.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.

VOLUME IX.

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE

LONDON: 1920

FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE.

PREFACE.

MR. BRADSHAW'S restoration of Praeneste illustrates in an admirable manner the aims of the Faculty of Architecture in the British School at Rome. His beautiful drawings speak for themselves, but I would call attention to the research which Mr. Bradshaw has devoted to his subject, not merely the ransacking of published works on Praeneste, but his own careful notes and sketches made on the spot and embodied in his scholarly reconstruction. I recently heard of a student in the school at Rome of another country who was found manufacturing a gigantic drawing, elaborately shaded and tinted, by means of the enlargement of small scale illustrations from various published works. Many of these illustrations, as is well known to students, are quite inaccurate, and the whole proceeding was worthless to the student and to anybody else. The result, except as an exhibition of draughtsmanship, is useless. The student is only training himself in shams and is shirking the mental discipline of endeavouring to find out for himself, by his own observation and sifting of evidence, the actual facts of the building which he presents. Ever since the days of Quatremère de Quincy there has been an unfortunate tendency among students to concentrate their efforts on plausible versions of their subject, tricked out with all the resources of draughtsmanship, rather than on an honest statement of the facts as they are. Draughtsmanship is not architecture, neither is it scholarship, and the danger of treating architecture as an affair of attractive drawings has been growing in recent years. In our architectural exhibitions, for example, for one good working drawing of a design, we get twenty more or less brilliant water-colours which may attract the unknowing but divert attention from the design to the accidents of its presentation. To put it another way, draughtsmanship is taking charge of architecture, and this is a tendency which ought to be firmly resisted. Good draughtsmanship is necessary for the architect as for every artist, but it should not so overpower the design as to make him forget that drawing is not design. In Mr. Bradshaw's work, beautifully drawn as it is, draughtsmanship takes its proper place as the servant, not as the master.

It is sometimes suggested that work such as this, based on the patient study of fragments of antiquity, is of little value to the student, that it is remote from practice, and tends to grandiloquence rather than capacity in design. I believe this to be a misconception. The study, for which the school of Rome provides such excellent opportunity, should be regarded not as technical instruction, but as educational; a course in the higher scholarship of architecture to which too little attention is paid in the modern practice of the art. When a student has mastered the elements of construction and design, and the other subjects with which architects are expected to have some acquaintance, when, in short, he has completed the regular qualifying courses, he is still only on the threshold of the art. He has yet to learn its possibilities, as shown in the great work of the past, and learn it, not in the old haphazard fashion of filling a sketch-book with details of carving and the like, but by means of critical analysis and the attempt to penetrate to the meaning of great buildings taken as a whole in plan, section, and elevation. One fine building so analysed and mastered in all its aspects is worth much promiscuous sketching. Only so can the inordinate craving for the picturesque be dominated. But there is one much worse tendency than this about in modern architecture, and that is the conversion of the art into terms of commerce, the practical repudiation of architecture as an art, and its practice as a more or less reputable business. The only way to check this is to insist on a higher standard of attainment in design, on finer ideals, and on something more than a merely perfunctory acquaintance with what architecture has done and can still do when rightly handled. It is the high aim of the British School at Rome to check these tendencies, and the founders may congratulate themselves that so early in its history one of its scholars has been able to produce such admirable work as Mr. Bradshaw's restoration of Praeneste.

REGINALD BLOMFIELD.
Chairman of the Faculty.

NEW COURT, TEMPLE,
May, 1920.

PAPERS OF THE BRITISH SCHOOL AT ROME.
Vol. IX. No. 10.

PRAENESTE: A STUDY FOR ITS RESTORATION

By H. CHALTON BRADSHAW, A.R.I.B.A.

This study forms part of my work as Rome Scholar in Architecture, 1913, and was undertaken in accordance with the Memorandum of the Faculty of Architecture of the British School at Rome.

In collecting and arranging material and in writing these notes I have been helped by my wife who, as holder of the Mary Ewart Travelling Studentship from Newnham College, Cambridge, has collaborated with me throughout. To her I owe many ideas and suggestions of archaeological importance in my scheme for restoration.

Further, I am greatly indebted to Mr. Ernest Prestwich, M.A., A.R.I.B.A. In 1911 Mr. Prestwich made a survey of the existing antiquities of Palestrina with a view to making a restoration. As he was unable to carry out this plan he very kindly put the material he had collected at my disposal. This has been very valuable to me throughout.

Finally, I have to thank the Director for his continued help and advice. Dr. Ashby used his expert knowledge of topography and bibliography unsparingly on my behalf, and even went over the site with me and helped in taking levels and measurements. He is responsible for many valuable suggestions and some of the photographs reproduced are his.

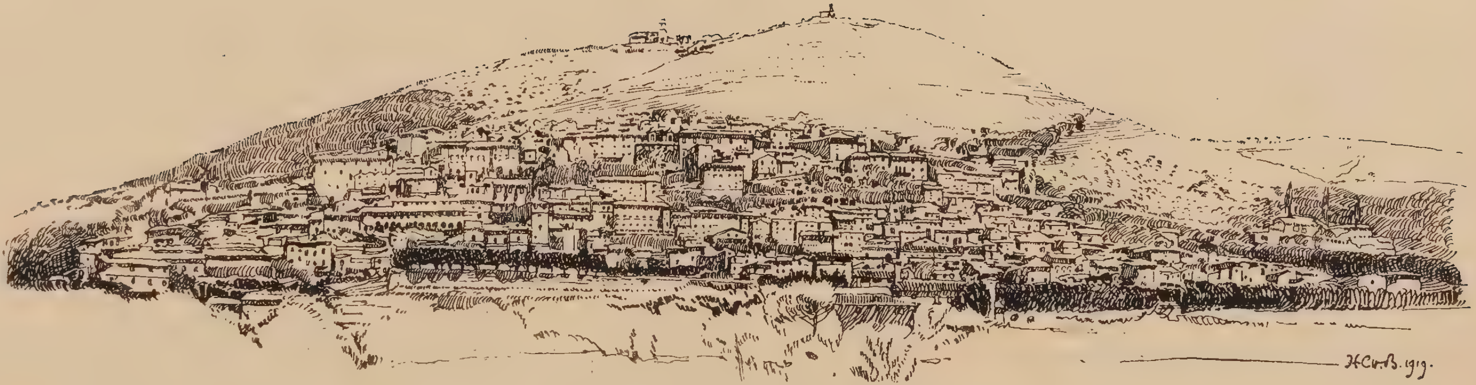

FIG. 1.—VIEW OF PALESTRINA.

I.

The town of Praeneste[1] (modern Palestrina) lies about 23 miles east of Rome on the slope of Monte Glicestro, a spur of the Apennines, where the limestone of the mountains runs down into the volcanic plain. The town faces nearly due south towards the Alban Hills, and is in a position of great natural strength, which was made still stronger by artificial means. Strabo[2] mentions it with Tibur as a stronghold, and adds that as such it was the more redoubtable of the two. Its climate is healthy and cool, compared with that of the plain, and in Imperial times it was a favourite resort of those who wished to escape from the heat of the Roman summer.

The origin of Praeneste is quite unknown. Various contradictory legends are given of its foundation. It was attributed by Virgil[3] to Caecubus, son of Vulcan, probably following the popular tradition, but by others to Telegonus,[4] son of Odysseus, or to Praenestos,[5] his grandson. These last traditions give some colour to the statement made by Strabo in the passage referred to above, that both Tibur and Praeneste were believed to be Greek in origin, Praeneste being originally called Polystephanos[1] (the Many-crowned).

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[1] For further details with regard to the history of Praeneste, see E. Fernique, *Etude sur Préneste*, Part I. (Histoire de la ville de Préneste). R. Van Deman Magoffin, *Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste*, Part II. (Municipal History); also the preface to the Inscriptions from Praeneste, *C.I.L.* xiv. p. 288.

[2] Strabo, v. 3, 11: Πραινεστὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὅπου τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐπίσημον χρηστηριάζον. ἀμφότεραι δ' αἱ πόλεις αὗται τῇ αὐτῇ προσιδρύμεναι τυγχάνουσιν ὀρεινῇ, διέχουσι δ' ἀλλήλων ὅσον σταδίους ἑκατόν, τῆς δὲ Ῥώμης Πραινεστὸς μὲν καὶ διπλάσιον, Τίβουρα δ' ἔλαττον. φασὶ δ' Ἑλληνίδας ἀμφοτέρας· Πραινεστὸν γοῦν Πολυστέφανον καλεῖσθαι πρότερον. ἐρυμνὴ μὲν οὖν ἑκατέρα πολὺ δ' ἐρυμνοτέρα Πραινεστός· ἄκραν γὰρ ἔχει τῆς μὲν πόλεως ὕπερθεν ὄρος ὑψηλόν, ὄπισθεν δ' ἀπὸ συνεχούσης ὀρεινῆς αὐχένι διζευγμένον, ὑπεραῖρον καὶ δυσὶ σταδίοις τούτου πρὸς ὀρθίαν ἀνάβασιν. πρὸς δὲ τῇ ἐρυμνότητι καὶ διώρυξι κρυπταῖς διατέτρηται πανταχόθεν μέχρι τῶν πεδίων ταῖς μὲν ὑδρείας χάριν ταῖς δ' ἐξόδων λαθραίων, ὧν ἐν μιᾷ Μάριος πολιορκούμενος ἀπέθανε.

'At Praeneste is the notable shrine of Fortune with its oracle. Both of these towns (*sc.* Praeneste and Tibur) are situated on the same range of mountains and are 100 stades distant from one another. Praeneste is twice as far from Rome, Tibur less. It is said that both are of Greek origin, and that Praeneste was formerly called Polystephanos (the Many-crowned). Both are strong places but Praeneste is far the stronger. For as citadel above the city it has a lofty mountain divided from the ridge by a narrow neck, above which it towers for two stades in direct ascent. Besides being naturally strong the site is pierced in all directions right down to the plain by secret tunnels, some for the sake of water and some to serve as hidden exits. In one of these, while he was besieged there, Marius died.'

[3] Vergil, *Aeneid* vii. 677–679.

[4] Plutarch, *Parallel*, 41.

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πραίνεστος.

The earliest settlement was probably on the acropolis (now Castel S. Pietro), which at an early date was connected by long walls of Cyclopean masonry with the town which grew up round the sanctuary of Fortune on the lower slope of the mountain. The natural strength of Praeneste and its position commanding both the way into the land of the Aequi up the valley of the Liris and also the pass of Algidus, the principal routes between Northern and Southern Italy, together with the fame of its oracle combined to make it one of the most important towns of Central Italy.

Finds of ivory and bronze[2] in the necropolis prove that as early as the eighth or seventh centuries B.C. it had dealings not only with Etruria but with Phoenicia and the East, while the later 'cistae Praenestinae,' or incised bronze caskets, and mirrors testify to its continued prosperity in the third and second centuries B.C.

In the earliest historical times Praeneste was probably a member of the Latin League whose head was Alba Longa. At any rate Livy[3] tells us that in 499 B.C. it withdrew from the League and formed an alliance with Rome. This early friendship did not, however, prevent Praeneste from becoming one of Rome's greatest adversaries during the years of her struggle for the headship of Latium, which was finally achieved in the Latin War, 340–338 B.C. Even after the triumph of Rome, Praeneste, though deprived of part of her territory, was not absorbed in Rome, but remained an allied city. During the Second Punic War in 216 B.C.[4] Praeneste showed its loyalty by the feats of the heroic band of its citizens who, under M. Anicius, after the defeat at Cannae, defended Casilinum against Hannibal. These men refused the Roman citizenship offered by the Senate in recognition of their deed, and Praeneste remained a separate community until the Social War, B.C. 90, when, with other towns which had not rebelled or which had laid down their arms at once, it received the full franchise and became a Roman Municipium.[5]

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[1] This name seems particularly suitable when we consider the walls which surround the city and support the terraces rising one above the other on which it is built. Cf. Nissen, *Landeskunde*, ii. p. 620.

[2] Many of the finds are in the Villa Giulia Museum, Rome. Helbig^3, ii. pp. 313 ff., and also C. Densmore Curtis, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome*, vol. iii.

[3] Livy, ii. 19. [4] Livy, xxiii. 17. [5] By the Leges Julia and Plautia Papiria.

During the Civil War, B.C. 82, the younger Marius took refuge at Praeneste after the battle of Sacriportus, and Sulla blockaded the town. On its surrender Marius committed suicide and Praeneste was punished by the slaughter of its male inhabitants, the loss of its privileges as a Municipium, and the settlement of a military colony on part of its territory. Soon after this Sulla, who called himself the favourite of Fortune, largely remodelled the city, placing the forum at the foot of the hill in the plain and rebuilding the Temple of Fortune[1] on a large scale, so that it occupied much of the site of the earlier town.

From this time Praeneste seems to have changed its character. Its fine scenery and healthy climate made it popular with wealthy Romans. Villas were built on the plain below and on the neighbouring hills, and Horace[2] ranks it with Tibur and Baiae as a health resort. Augustus[3] stayed there, and it was in gratitude for recovery from an illness in a villa near that Tiberius[4] restored to the town the position of Municipium. It was patronised by other emperors, including Hadrian, who probably built the large villa (on the site of the modern Campo Santo) in which the famous Antinous Braschi was found,[5] and Marcus Aurelius. Pliny the Younger,[6] and Symmachus,[7] were among the private persons who possessed villas near Praeneste.

From the earliest times the fame of Praeneste was bound up with that of the sanctuary and oracle of the Goddess Fortune, who was here worshipped as Primigenia or 'First-born' (of Jupiter). The oracle delivered its responses by means of 'lots' or slips of wood with letters carved upon them. These were supposed to have leapt from the rock when it was cleft by a certain Numerius Suffustius, according to Cicero,[8] who gives the legend of their origin and also the most important reference to the shrine found in any ancient writer.

It is uncertain how soon the oracle became famous outside Latium but the fact that during the First Punic War the Consul Lutatius Cerco[9] wished to consult the lots but was not allowed by the Senate on the ground that a Roman should consult none but national oracles, goes to show that by the third century B.C. its importance was considerable. In 168 B.C. Livy tells us that King Prusias of Bithynia made offerings to the Goddess Fortune of Praeneste.[1] Cicero, in the chapter in which occurs the description of the shrine, speaks of the visit paid by the famous Greek philosopher Carneades, who is reported to have said that Fortune at Praeneste was more fortunate than anywhere else.[2]

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[1] Pliny, *H.N.* 36, 25, confirms this by his mention of the 'lithostroton' with which Sulla adorned the pavement of the 'delubrum' of Fortune at Praeneste.

[2] Horace, *Odes*, iii. 3.

[3] Suetonius, *Aug.* 72.

[4] Aulus Gellius, xvi, 13.

[5] Helbig³, i. 289, p. 191. The brick stamps prove the villa to have been built in the reign of Hadrian.

[6] Pliny, *Epist.* v. 6.

[7] Symmachus, *Epist.* i. 2, iii. 50.

[8] Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41; see below, p. 238.

[9] Valerius Maximus, i. 3, 2.

The shrine of the Goddess seems to have suffered severely when Praeneste was captured by Sulla. But Sulla paid special reverence to the Goddess Fortune whom he held as his patroness, and under him the shrine was rebuilt with great magnificence on a much larger scale. This restoration must have made it the largest sanctuary of the kind in Italy and a conspicuous landmark.

Cicero[3] says that in his day the consultation of the lots had partially fallen into disuse, and that only the vulgar and ignorant now believed in them. Tiberius[4] tried to abolish their use, and ordered the box in which they were kept to be transported to Rome. The story goes that when the box was opened in Rome the lots had disappeared, but that they appeared once more when the box was restored to its place. Terrified by this portent, Tiberius desisted from his intention and left the oracle alone. At any rate the cult of Fortune and her oracle continued under the Empire. Domitian[5] put himself under the protection of the Goddess every year, and the oracle foretold his assassination in 96 A.D. Alexander Severus[6] also consulted the lots, which are said to have promised him the Empire if he could escape the plots of Elagabalus, replying in the words of Virgil, 'si qua fata aspera rumpas, tu Marcellus eris.'

Christianity found a powerful opponent in the Goddess Fortuna Primigenia, though the existence of Christians at Praeneste in the third and fourth centuries A.D. is proved by the martyrdom in 274 A.D. of St. Agapitos, and by the record of a bishop of Praeneste as early as 313 A.D.[7] Constantine, on his acceptance of Christianity, ordered the closing of the oracle and shrine, in common with all other pagan buildings; but on the accession of the Emperor Julian it was again reopened, and fragments of an inscription in his honour have been found. The oracle was finally closed by the Emperor Theodosius, who in 392 A.D. put an end to pagan cults. After this time Christianity conquered, and Praeneste became one of the suffragan bishoprics of the Roman See. The relics of the martyred saint, Agapitus, were removed from the basilica outside the town, where they had been buried, and placed in one of the most important buildings of pagan Praeneste, which became the Cathedral dedicated in his honour. The great temple built by Sulla in the upper part of the town became the seat of mediaeval barons, and the name of the town itself gradually changed from Praeneste—Civitas Praenestina to Penestrina, Pelestrina, and finally Palestrina.

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[1] Livy, xlv. 44.
[2] 'Nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam.'
[3] *Loc. cit.*
[4] Suetonius, *Tiberius*, 63.
[5] Suetonius, *Domitian*, 15.
[6] Lampridius, *In Alex. Sev.* 4.
[7] For further information about Christian Praeneste see Marucchi, *Guida*, pp. 145 ff.

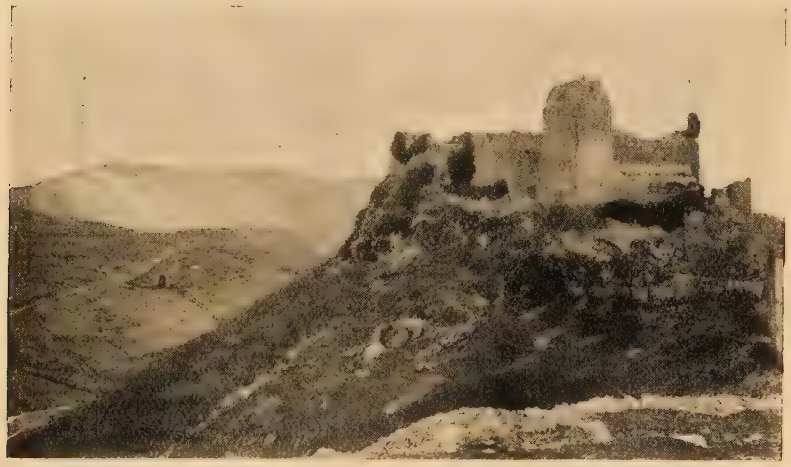

FIG. 2.—CASTEL S. PIETRO.

The earliest notice that we have concerning mediaeval Palestrina is the deed of gift by which Pope John XIII. ceded the territory of Palestrina to his sister Stefania in 970 A.D. Her family remained in possession till 1043 A.D., when by the marriage of the last of the line, Emilia, to Stefano de Columna, Palestrina passed into the hands of the Colonna family. On the death of Emilia the Pope, Gregory VII., laid claim to the estate on the ground that as she was the last of the line, the property should now revert to the Holy See. This claim was resisted by her son Petrus de Columna, and in 1117 A.D. Pope Paschal II. took it from him by force. After Paschal's death, however, Petrus recovered Palestrina, and the Colonnas continued in undisturbed possession for nearly two hundred years.

In 1297 A.D. the Colonnas revolted from Pope Boniface VIII., and the next year the city was taken and razed to the ground. But under Clement V. the Colonnas were allowed to regain possession and rebuild their city.

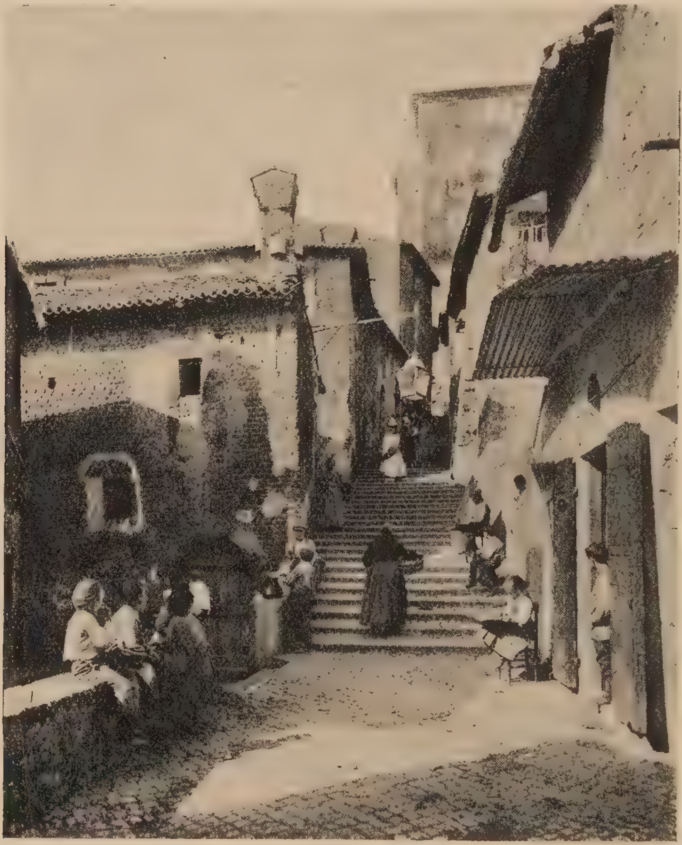

FIG. 3.—A STREET IN PALESTRINA.

In 1437 A.D. the Colonnas again rebelled, this time against Pope Eugenius IV., who followed the example of his predecessor Boniface, and ordered the unhappy city again to be levelled with the ground. This was carried out by Papal troops under Cardinal Vitelleschi.

Soon after this the Colonnas once more reconciled themselves to the Church, and Pope Nicholas V. (1447–1455 A.D.) gave permission to rebuild the city. This was done by Stefano Colonna, who also restored the fortress on the site of the ancient acropolis (Fig. 2). His son Francesco restored the palace.

From this time the city took on its modern aspect. The Colonnas remained its feudal lords, though with limited rights, until 1630 A.D., when it passed by purchase to the Barberini family, who still keep the title of Princes of Palestrina. The last event of historical importance which may be said to concern the town is the defeat in the plain below of the Bourbon troops from Naples by Garibaldi and his soldiers in 1840.[1]

The modern town is a dirty, picturesque place with winding streets that break at intervals into flights of steps (Fig. 3). Built into the walls of the many mediaeval houses that remain can be seen pieces of cornices, friezes and architraves, while broken column drums and other fragments are to be found in most of the gardens.

II.

The literary notices of the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste and its oracle are very scanty. The passage in Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41,[2]

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[1] G. M. Trevelyan, *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic*, pp. 138 ff.

[2] Cicero, *De Divinatione*, ii. 41, 85–86: 'Numerium Suffustium Praenestinorum monumenta declarant honestum hominem et nobilem, somnis crebris ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irridentibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Jovis pueri qui lactens cum Junone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam appetens castissime colitur a matribus. Eodemque tempore in eo loco ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam eoque conditas sortis quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in his potest esse certi quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur? . . . Quis robur illud cecidit, dolavit, inscripsit?'

'From the records of Praeneste we learn that Numerius Suffustius, a man of rank and consideration, was ordered by frequent dreams, which at the last became threatening, to break open the flint rock at a certain spot. Terrified by his visions he began to do this, though his fellow-citizens laughed at him, and when the rock was shattered lots leapt out carved in oak with the marks of ancient letters. This is the place which is now religiously enclosed near the shrine of Jupiter Puer, who as a suckling child sits with Juno in the lap of Fortune seeking her breast, and is worshipped by mothers with the purest rights. They say that at the same time honey flowed from an olive tree at the spot where now is the Temple of Fortune, and that the haruspices declared that the lots would be held in the greatest honour, and that at their command a chest was made of the olive referred to above, is the most important. This passage, besides giving the origin of the lots, tells us more than any other authority about the original shrine. From it we learn that the spot where the lots leapt out of the rock was in Cicero's time in a sacred enclosure and that near it was the shrine of Jupiter Puer,[1] who was represented as a sucking child with Juno in the lap of Fortune and was worshipped by matrons. Cicero continues that the Temple of Fortune stood on the spot where honey had flowed out of an olive tree, from the wood of which was made the chest which contained the sacred lots.

With regard to the Temple we learn from Pliny that it contained a heavily gilded statue of Fortune.[2] In another place[3] Pliny, in talking about various kinds of paving, mentions that called 'lithostroton,' and says that the pavement of this kind given by Sulla to the Temple of Fortune at Praeneste remained in his day. This gift of Sulla has by many been thought to be the mosaics with marine and Egyptian subjects, the former of which is still *in situ*, while the latter, the famous Nile mosaic, was removed and restored and is now in the Palazzo Barberini at the top of the town.

Livy tells us that in commemoration of the exploit of M. Anicius at Casilinum, his statue was set up in the Forum at Praeneste with an inscription, a copy of which was attached to three statues in the Temple of Fortune.[4]

From an inscription of the age of the Antonines[5] recording a gift

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tree in which the lots were placed and from which they are now taken when Fortune bids. What certainty can there be in these lots which are shuffled and drawn by the hand of a child? . . . Who cut down that oak and worked it and carved letters upon it?'

[1] The best explanation of this cult seems to lie in the fact that Fortune as Primigenia was also called 'Jovis Puer' (*i.e.* filia). This is shown by inscriptions. This was probably later misunderstood and referred to Jupiter himself, and so gave rise to the cult of Jupiter as a babe. Cf. Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 208 ff.

[2] Pliny, *H.N.* xxiii. 61. He is discussing the method of gilding by means of thin gold plates 'bracteae' and continues 'crassissimae ex iis Praenestinae vocantur etiamnunc retinente nomen Fortunae inaurato ibi simulacro.'

[3] Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi. 64: 'Lithostrota coeptavere iam sub Sulla parvulis certe crustis. Exstat hodie quod in Fortunae delubro fecit.' Cf. Marucchi, *Atti Pont. Acc.* 1910, pp. 146 ff.

[4] Livy, xxiii. 19, 18: 'Statua eius indicio fuit Praeneste in foro statuta, loricata, amicta toga, velato capite, cum titulo lamnae aeneae inscripto, M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio erant votum solvisse, idem titulus tribus signis in aede Fortunae positis fuit subiectus.'

[5] *C.I.L.* xiv. 2867: 'L. Sariolenus Naevius Fastus consularis ut Triviam in Iunonarium, ut in pronao aedis statuam Antonini Augusti, Apollinis, Isityches, Spei, ita et hanc Minervam Fortunae Primigeniae donum dedit cum ara.'

of statues we learn of the existence of a building called the 'Junonarium' and also that the Temple of Fortune had a 'pronaos.'

Beyond references to sacred buildings and dedications, there is a passage in Varro[1] from which we know that Praeneste possessed a very ancient 'solarium,' or solar clock, with an inscription. Traces of this clock, showing it to have been of peculiar design, were found in 1882 by Professor Marucchi[2] on the southern face of the building which is now the main part of the Cathedral of S. Agapito.

An old 'aerarium' is under the building now the seminary. Its name is fixed by an inscription of pre-Sullan date.[3] The 'Fasti Praenestini,' the celebrated calendar of Verrius Flaccus, were set up either in the upper or lower part of the Forum (there is a variety of reading in the passage in Suetonius).[4] Marble slabs of this calendar were used as building material in the old basilica of S. Agapito outside the town, but one fragment was discovered near S. Maria dell'Aquila on the site of the Forum of the Roman Colony.

There is one important reference in mediaeval times to the temple in the upper part of the town. It is given in Petrini's *Memorie Prenestine*, and is numbered Monumentum XXXII.[5] It is from a petition of the

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[1] Varro, *De Lingua Latina*, vi. 4: 'Meridies ab eo quod medius dies. D antiqui in hoc loco non R dixerunt ut Praeneste incisum in solario vidi.'

[2] Marucchi, *Annali dell' Ist.* 1884, pp. 286 ff. Cf. also *Guida*, p. 65, Fig. 9, and *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1918, pp. 226, ff., for his latest ideas on the subject. He uses this clock together with a passage from Ovid (*Fasti*, vi. 59) to endeavour to identify the building with the Junonarium mentioned in the inscription given above (*C.I.L.* xiv. 2867).

[3] *C.I.L.* xiv. 2975: 'M. Anicius L. f. Baaso, M. Mersieius C. f. aedilis aerarium faciendum dederunt.'

[4] Suetonius, *De Grammaticis*, 17: 'Statuam habet (*sc.* Verrius Flaccus) Praeneste in inferiore (*v.l.* superiore) fori parte contra hemicyclium in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo pariete incisos publicarat.'

[5] Petrini, *Memorie Prenestine*, xxxii. p. 430: '. . . Item dicunt in Civitate Penestrina que totaliter supposita fuit exterminio et ruine cum Palaciis suis nobilissimis, et antiquissimis, et cum Templo magno et solemni, quod in honorem Beate Virginis dedicatum erat, edificatis per Julium Caesarem Imperatorem, cujus Civitas Penestrin. fuit antiquitusi et cum scalis de nobilissimo marmore amplis, et largis, per quas etiam equitando ascend poterat in Palacium et Templum predicta, que quidem scale erant ultra centum numero Palacium autem Caesaris edificatum ad modum unius C propter primam litteram nominis sui, et Templum Palacio inherens opere sumptuosissimo edificatum ad modum S. M. Rotunde de Urbe. Que omnia per ipsum Bonifacium et ejus tyrampnidem exposita fuerint totali exterminio et ruine, et cum omnibus aliis Palaciis et edificiis et Domibus ejusdem civitatis, et cum muris antiquissimis opere Sarracenico factis de lapidibus quadris et magnis, que sola dampna tam magna, et inextimabilia sunt, quod multa et magna bona non sufficerent ad refectionem ipsorum, nec aliqua ratione vel summa pecunia possent, ut fuerunt refici propter magnam antiquitatem, et nobilitatem operum predictorum.

Colonna family for the restitution of their rights after the destruction of the city in 1297, and gives the only description of the upper Temple extant, showing that it had flights of marble steps leading up to a hemicycle above which was a round temple crowning the whole design.

III.—BIBLIOGRAPHY.

1. GIULIANO DA SANGALLO (1445–1516). Drawing of apsidal building. Cod. Vat. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 43a.

2. PIRRO LIGORIO. Plan and perspective of restored sanctuary. The originals are in Turin (Archivio del Stato), as there is a copy of both in Cod. Ottoboni. Lat. 3373, f. 71, 72. There are also copies in Cod. Vat. Lat. 3439, fol. 50, 51, and of the plan in the Vienna Hofbibliothek, Sammlung Architektonischer Handzeichnungen N. 272 (Fig. 4). (They are attributed by Egger to GIROLAMO RAINALDI and reproduced by him.)

Portions of the above and the Sangallo drawing are reproduced by Canina and Delbrück.

3. ANDREA PALLADIO (1518–1580). Sketch plans, elevations and sections showing schemes for the restoration of Praeneste. *R.I.B.A. Library*, vol. viii. 10, 11, ix. 1–9, reproduced by Burger, *Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Architektur*, 1908–1909, pp. 203–210.

'Item in Castro Montis Penestrin., quod similiter totaliter dirui fecit, ubi erat Rocca nobilissima, et Palacia pulcherrima, et muri antiquissima opere Sarracenico, et de lapidibus nobilibus sicut muri pred. Civitatis. . . .'

'. . . Next they mention the town of Penestrina, which was entirely laid waste with destruction and ruin, with its most noble and ancient palaces and its great and solemn temple, which was dedicated to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, all of which were built by the Emperor Julius Caesar to whom the Town of Penestrina belonged of old, and with its broad and spacious flights of noble marble steps up which a man might even ride on horseback to the temple and palace aforesaid. And the palace of Caesar, which was built in the shape of a single C because of the first letter of his name, and the temple above and adjoining the palace which was built with most noble and sumptuous workmanship in the shape of S. M. Rotunda (*i.e.* the Pantheon) in Rome. All of which, through this same Boniface and his tyranny, were laid waste in utter destruction and ruin: with all the other palaces also and buildings and dwelling houses of the same city, and with its ancient walls of Saracen workmanship made of great square stones. Which alone are such great and inestimable losses that many and great riches would not suffice to restore them, nor could they by any means, not even by the greatest sums of money, be rebuilt as they were, because of the great antiquity and excellence of the aforesaid works.

'Next they mention the Citadel of the Mount of Penestrina, which he likewise caused to be destroyed, where was a noble fort and beautiful palaces and most ancient walls of Saracen workmanship and of noble stones like the walls of the aforesaid city. . . .'

4. M. Suaresii. *Praenestes Antiquae Libri Duo.* Roma, 1655. Mainly an ecclesiastical history, but contains references to pagan remains. Three plates, plan, elevation and perspective of Praeneste restored after Pietro da Cortona (see p. 65 of Suarez' book). The originals are at Windsor.

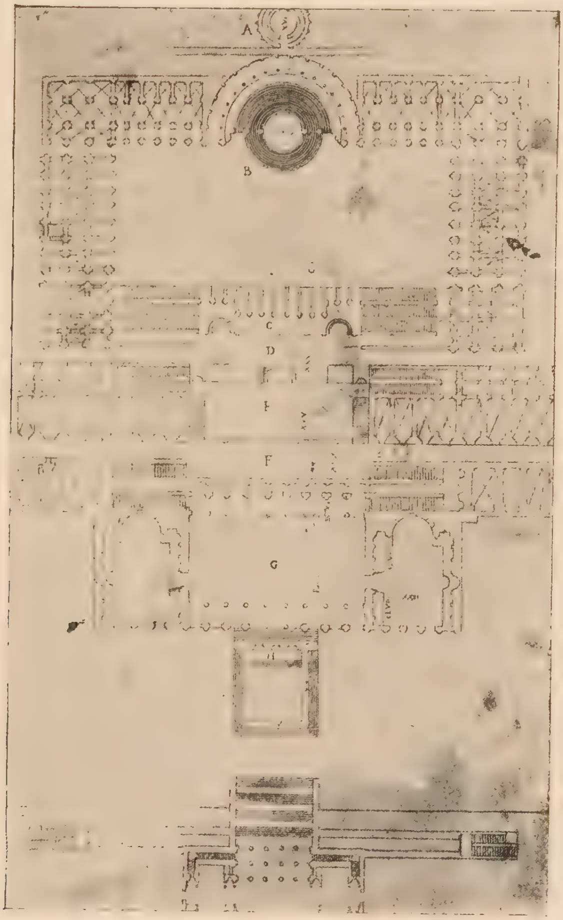

Fig. 4.—Vienna Copy of Pirro Ligorio's Plan.

5. L. Cecconi. *Storia di Palestrina città del prisco Lazio, illustrata con antichi iscrizione e notizie finora inedite.* 1756. One plate giving map of Palestrina and surrounding country.

6. GEORGE HADFIELD, 1792. Views and restoration of Palestrina. *R.I.B.A. Library.* Six sheets, two showing restored plan and elevation, remainder perspectives giving actual state of the town. (These drawings were the subject of a lecture given before the Royal Institute of British Architects in May, 1848, by J. Papworth.)

7. PETRINI. *Memorie Prenestine disposte in forma di Annali.* Roma, 1798. Contains *inter alia* the petition of the Colonna family giving the description of the later temple.

8. HUYOT. 1811. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts.* Paris. *Monuments Antiques,* iii. Pl. 189–191. Six drawings, plans and elevations, showing état actuel and restoration.

9. NIBBY AND THON. *Il Tempio della Fortuna Prenestina.* Roma, 1825. Description, plans and restoration. Text reproduced in Nibby's *Dintorni di Roma,* vol. ii. pp. 475 ff. Roma, 1848.

10. LUIGI ROSSINI. *Antichita dei Contorni di Roma.* Roma, 1826. Perspectives, état actuel, restored plan and elevation.

11. GUÉNEPIN. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts.* Paris, 1840. Plans and elevations showing état actuel and restoration.

12. TÉTAZ. *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts.* Paris, 1846 Collection Lampuée. Restaurations de monuments anciens, envois de Rome. Plans, elevations and sections, with details of the apsidal building, état actuel and restoration.

13. T. L. DONALDSON. *Circ.* 1848. *R.I.B.A. Library.* A drawing of Huyot's restoration 'corrected (?) on the spot.'

14. CANINA. *Edifizi,* vi. Pl. 111–119. Roma, 1856. Restoration details and map.

15. BERNIER, 1875. N. wall of 'area sacra.' D'Espouy, Pl. 47.

16. E. FERNIQUE. *Étude sur Préneste.* Paris, 1880. One plate giving plan of town. Contains the fullest description and history.

17. P. BLONDEL. *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire de l'école française à Rome,* 1882, pp. 168 ff. Two plates showing elevation and plan of état actuel. The most complete plan showing the remains of the ancient town.

18. CIPOLLA, 1889. Restored plan and elevation in the Municipio at Palestrina. Drawn by LAMBUSIER.

19. R. VAN DEMAN MAGOFFIN. 'A study of the Topography and Municipal History of Praeneste.' *Johns Hopkins University Studies,*

1908. Gives a useful list of buildings mentioned in inscriptions at Palestrina.

20. D. VAGLIERI. Articles in *Not. Scavi* and *Bull. Comm.*, 1909, vol. xxxviii. pp. 212 ff.

21. R. DELBRÜCK. *Hellenistische Bauten in Latium.* Vol. i. pp. 47 ff. 'Das Heiligtum der Fortuna in Praeneste.' 1907. Ten plates and forty-four illustrations in text. An analysis and description of the lower group of buildings and an attempt to decide their identity. Vol. ii. pp. 1 ff., 1912. Additional remarks and one plate giving his idea of lower group.

22. O. MARUCCHI. Various articles and notes of excavation since 1881. The most important are :—

Bull. Ist. 1881, pp. 248 ff. ; 1882, pp. 244 ff.

Bull. Comm. 1895, pp. 26 ff. ; 1904, pp. 233 ff. ; 1907, pp. 275 ff.

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Also *Guida Archaeologica dell'Antica Praeneste.* Latest edition, Rome, 1912.

In the foregoing bibliography mention has been made of all the authorities of any importance dealing with Praeneste. The numerous articles cited in the catalogue of the German Archaeological Institute deal in the main with the necropolis. A few references to casual discoveries in the town itself will be found in *Notizie degli Scavi*.

IV.

Since the Renaissance Praeneste has been the subject of several restorations. These attempts show two main faults. Firstly, temple buildings, colonnades and open spaces all connected with the sanctuary have been made to cover the whole slope of the hill ; secondly, a perfect balance has been shown throughout. The reason for this is that early schemes for restoration were made without any exact measurements of the actual remains visible. Discoveries and excavations which have recently been made on the site, though not on any large scale, suffice to disprove these restorations, in all of which imagination plays a large part. Hadfield's is a particularly striking example of this freedom of treatment, no design showing less likeness to the possibilities of the actual remains than his; while in the latest, that of Cipolla, the central and most ancient of all the buildings is not shown.

A fair amount has been written on the subject of Palestrina and its history. The first scientific and careful survey of the site is that by Nibby. Of late years, since excavation has begun, the amount of literature dealing with Palestrina has largely increased. The most valuable general description (giving plan and elevation of the ruins) is that of P. Blondel, who lived for some years at Palestrina. The work of the later authorities in the list is also important.

In the preparation of my drawings of the actual state of Praeneste (Pl. XXVII., XXVIII., XXIX., XXX.), I have depended chiefly on the surveys made by Mr. Prestwich. The plan (Pl. XXVII.) has been based on the Stato Ponteficio Survey of 1818, kindly supplied by the Ufficio Tecnico di Finanza di Roma, supplemented by the levels and survey of the 1° Reg. Genio stationed in Palestrina during the war. The whole has been brought up to date and corrected by measurements and levels which I took on the spot.

I have made no study of the lower part of the city (*i.e.* the Roman forum and its surroundings below the present town), and have limited my restoration to the part above the Via degli Arcioni. A certain amount is visible south of this road, but until further excavations have been made any attempt at a reconstruction of this part would be useless.

The date chosen for the restoration is the end of the first century A.D. (Pl. XXXI., XXXII., XXXIII.). The site of the ancient town was at this time partly covered by the sanctuary as rebuilt by Sulla, who founded a new Roman colony at the foot of the hill. Here was the forum with new public buildings, which later included libraries,[1] an amphitheatre,[2] and even a school for gladiators.[3] Houses and public buildings must, however, have existed in the more ancient part of the town, and there is no warrant for supposing that this part contained the temple buildings only.

Before the time of Sulla there was obviously no attempt at symmetry in the planning of the town. The lower terrace walls and south boundary are not parallel. The axis of the central building under the present Cathedral was not parallel with that of the group of

[1] *C.I.L.* xvi. 2196, Magoffin, p. 53.

[2] *C.I.L.* xiv. 3010, 3014, Magoffin, p. 52.

[3] *C.I.L.* xiv. 3014.

buildings forming the ancient shrine. In the reconstruction which followed Sulla, an axis was taken passing through the centre of the space between the two grottos, and terraces were made at right angles to this line. The design of the upper part of the town is completely balanced, and repeats and confirms the lines of the early sanctuary. Two small hemicycles were made on the upper terrace to correspond with the two grottos. On the lower terrace, in Imperial times, a large water-tank was built which practically corresponded with one already existing on the east. In this way the town began to assume a symmetrical appearance, but there was far from being a perfect balance between the two sides.

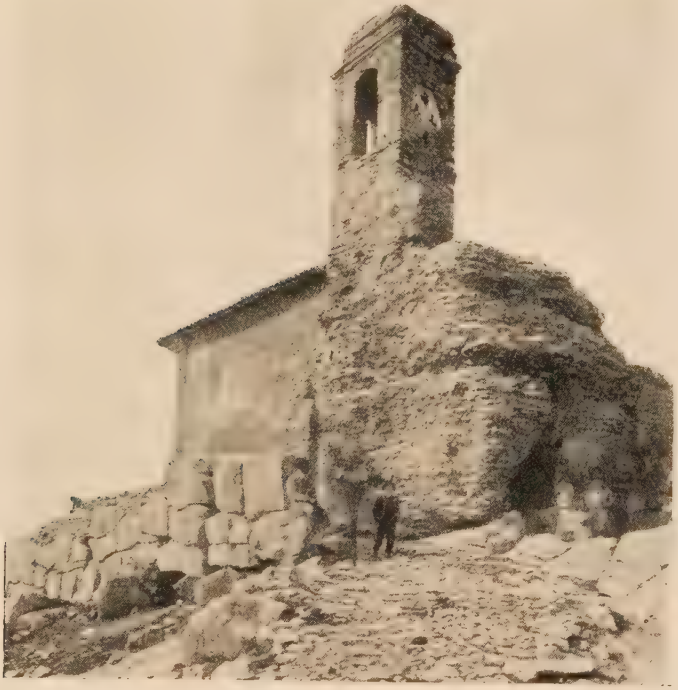

FIG. 5.—POLYGONAL WALL AT CASTEL S. PIETRO.

It will now be convenient to study the town in greater detail.

Walls.—The early town was joined to the citadel (on the site of the modern Castel S. Pietro) by long walls of polygonal masonry[1] (Figs. 5

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[1] Cf. the city walls of Norba.

and 6). These walls were not destroyed by Sulla after the taking of the city with the exception of the wall on the south, although the town was no longer fortified. The wall is nearly complete on the east side. On the west no trace of ancient wall exists between the Porta San Francesco and the Porta San Martino, except for two small pieces in the modern wall, the line of which has therefore been adopted in the design. On the south the wall is of ' opus quadratum ' of the time of Sulla (Fig. 7), with an arcade to the east of the central gate.

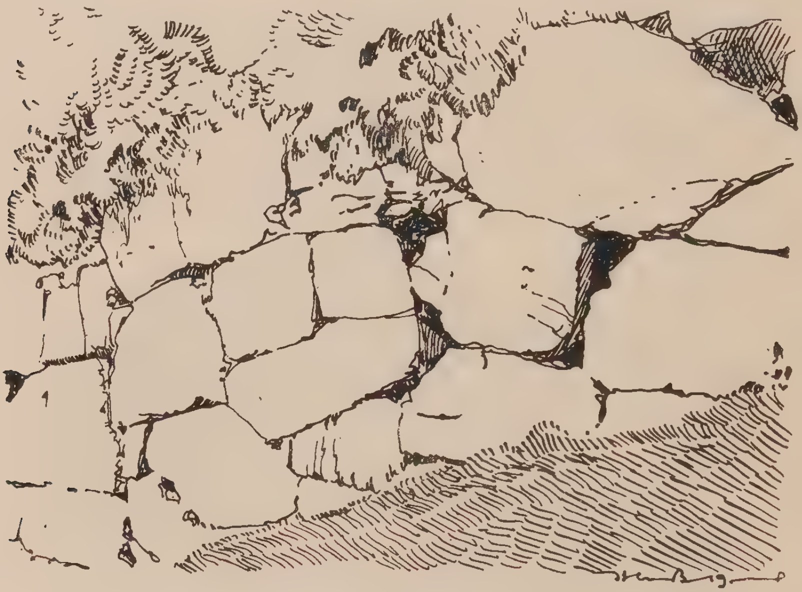

FIG. 6.—POLYGONAL WALL.

Main Roads and Gates.—The main road from Rome was the Via Praenestina, which after Sulla's time ran into the new part of the town on the plain. Pieces of ancient paving show that a road led up from the lower town to a gate in the walls where is now the modern Porta San Martino. This paving is visible outside the present gate along the modern road. South of this, below the present Cardinal's Garden, is a gap in the wall. This may also have been another small gate as shown in the restoration, although the sides are broken.

In the centre of the south wall and on the axis of Sulla's building is a large gap in the ‘ opus quadratum ’ wall and remains of what appears to be the flank of an entrance. This was the main approach from the new forum to the temple and the old town.

On the east side the main entrance was where is now the Porta Santa Maria, at the end of the modern Via Anicia. Part of the Cyclopean wall on the north side of the modern entrance ends in a vertical edge, which makes it likely that in ancient times there was a gateway here ; remains of a gate tower also exist at this point. In the Via Anicia just inside the gate are some large blocks of ‘ opus quadratum ’ and the drum of an applied column. At the modern Porta del Sole, in the south-east corner of the town, there was probably only a postern, as this entrance is considerably lower than the level of the ancient forum. The road on this side, which now leads to Valmontone and Cave, like the road on the west, also led from the lower part of the town to the more ancient part above. At the Porta Portella there was a postern which is still visible.

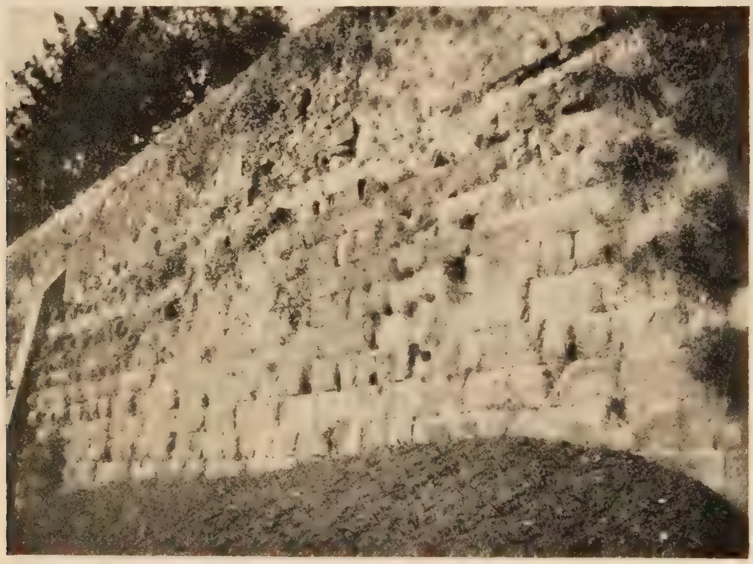

FIG. 7.—OPUS QUADRATUM OF S. WALL.

South of the town, along the line of the Via degli Arcioni, a road existed, the paving of which was seen by Huyot in 1811.[1]

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[1] Huyot, *Mon. Ant.* Pl. 189. See also his report in the *Bibliothèque de l'école des Beaux Arts.*

The road to the citadel, which still remains as the 'strada antica,' zigzagged up inside the walls.

Roads within the Walls.—The greater part of the ancient remains consists of terrace walls (Figs. 8 and 9). These walls, which run practically east and west across the whole town, help to fix the lateral communications. The levels of the tops of the walls, column bases and entablatures *in situ*, and some fragments of ancient road paving give the relative heights of each stage of the town. The roads shown in the restoration have been arrived at by careful measurements of these remains and by the lines of the modern roads where they are suitable.

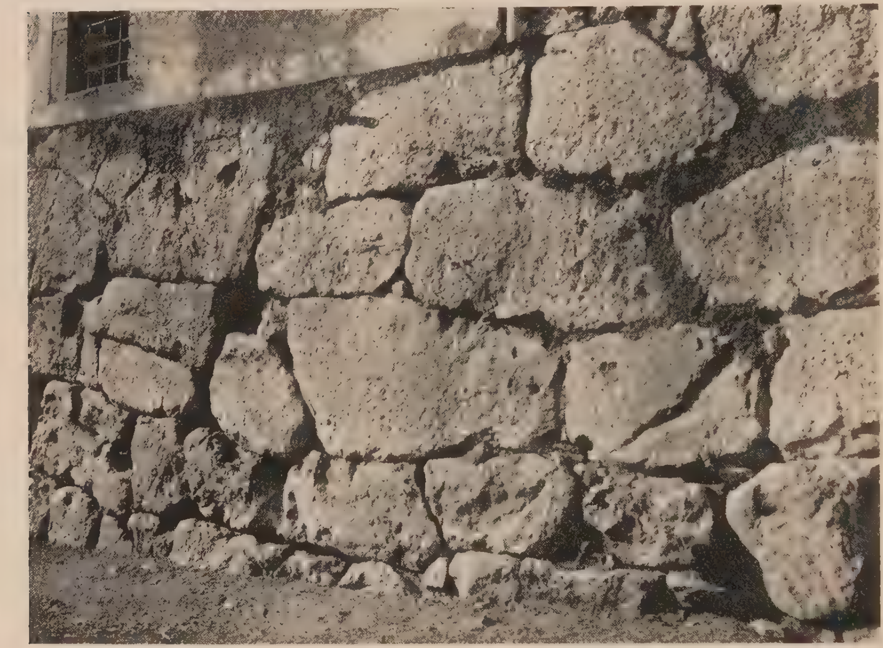

FIG. 8.—TERRACE WALL.

In making a main approach from the forum of Sulla on the centre axis I have followed the restorations of Pirro Ligorio and Palladio and the opinion of Magoffin.[1] The base found in the Piazza Garibaldi (see Fig. 10) and the building under the Cathedral establish this axis.

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[1] Magoffin, p. 32.

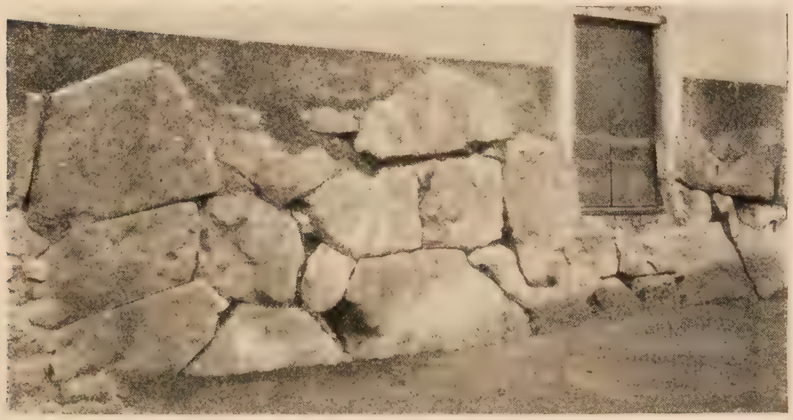

FIG. 9.—TERRACE WALL.

The main approach from the west, along what is now the modern Corso, is fixed by two fragments of retaining wall which exist below the level of the modern street in the houses Nos. 82 and 102. The lower road, parallel to this and running past the open reservoirs, has also a retaining wall, which can be seen under the house of the Cicerchia family in the Via Pierantonio Petrini. The retaining walls of the upper part of the town being much higher are plainly visible.

The Ancient Forum.—Excavations have been made in the modern Piazza Regina Margherita (Fig. 11) which show that an open space existed here in ancient times. Four steps running right across in front of the modern seminary were found;[1] and the paving of this space and of an ancient road leading into it, and the steps of a podium are to be

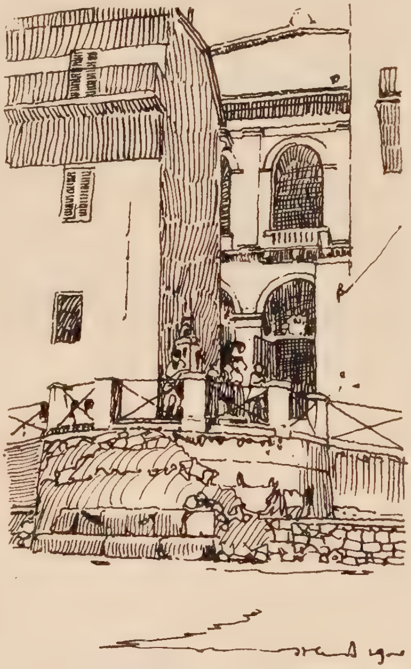

FIG. 10.—PIAZZA GARIBALDI SHOWING BASE.

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[1] Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 231 and 232, Figs. 8 and 9.

seen at the north-east corner of the Cathedral. It is natural to see in such an open space in the middle of an ancient town the forum. This identification is made all the more probable by the fact that round this space, on the north and west sides, were the most important buildings of early Praeneste. The aerarium is to be seen here under the modern seminary. This is proved by an inscription in it giving its name.[1] As we know that in ancient towns that the usual place for the aerarium was the forum,[2] it makes it all the more likely that this space was the forum. How far it extended south and east is not yet known, but the slope of the ground limits possibilities on the south side. On the east it has been restored so that the temple is in the centre of the north side (as was the case at Pompeii).

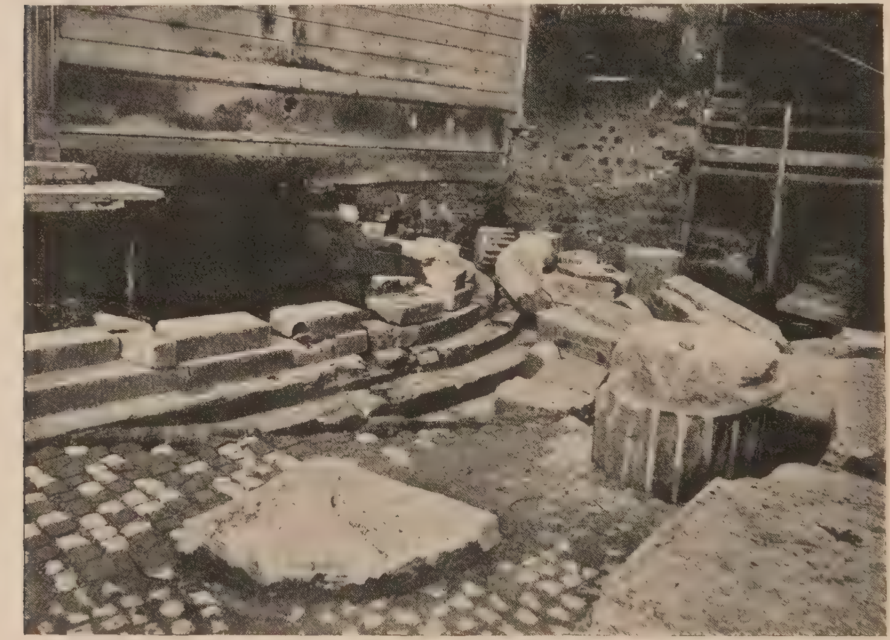

FIG. 11.—EXCAVATION IN PIAZZA R. MARGHERITA, SHOWING ANCIENT ROAD AND FORUM.

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[1] *C.I.L.* xiv. 2975. See above, p. 239, n. 3. The inscription belongs to a date earlier than Sulla, probably to the second century, B.C. Cf. Marucchi, *Guida*, p. 45 and Fig. 5.

[2] Vitruvius, v. 21: 'Aerarium carcer curia foro sunt coniungenda.'

Every former restoration shows the forum extending to the west so that the central building (under the Cathedral) stands in the middle. What evidence there is, however, is against this idea. Had there been such a forum there would have been no reason for the ancient road on the east side of the central building. The grotto, to which it obviously leads, could have been reached across the space to the west.

Lower Temple and Adjoining Buildings.—In assuming that the two grottos and the area connecting them were the ancient sanctuary of Fortune referred to by Cicero in the passage given above, I follow all important authorities[1] except the late Professor Vaglieri[2] and Professor Hülsen,[3] who believe this group of buildings to be secular.

Enough exists of the building on the east side to give a satisfactory restoration.[4] It is of ' opus incertum ' with applied columns still in good preservation (Pl. XXXIV. and Fig. 12). Like the Temple of Concord at Rome, the entrance was on one of the long sides. The famous Nile mosaic, now in the Palazzo Barberini at the top of the town, covered the floor of the grotto at its north end.[5] This is the building generally accepted as the Temple of Fortune.

The exact arrangement and appearance of the building on the west, which is believed to be the Grotto of the Lots, is more difficult. I have shown it partly covered, and supposed that in the rebuilding of Sulla, when the whole of this group was elaborated, it was enclosed on the south side and a façade built to correspond to that of the temple.

The shrine of Jupiter Puer is said by Cicero to have been near the spot where the lots sprang out of the rock. I have placed it in this enclosure.

The space between the grottos offers a more difficult problem. A variety of opinion exists as to how this area was treated; the question has been discussed in detail by Professors Marucchi[6] and

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[1] On this point Marucchi and Delbrück are the most important.

[2] Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 230 ff. Vaglieri believes that if the temple is to be found in this part of the town it is the building incorporated in the Cathedral.

[3] Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, p. 267, n. 113, mentions that Professor Hülsen thought it was probably a library.

[4] As mentioned in the bibliography, Tétaz has made a careful study of this building and its details.

[5] Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1910, pp. 146 ff.; a discussion of the Nile mosaic and of mosaic pavement found in the upper temple which Marucchi believes to be the ' lithostroton ' of Sulla.

[6] Marucchi, *Bull. Comm.* 1907, pp. 302 ff.

Delbrück,[1] who believe it to have been open to the sky, and Professor Vaglieri,[2] who believed it to have been roofed over. Delbrück, in a detailed article, shows by careful drawings what he considers to have been its appearance. Professor Marucchi gives many reasons why he considers this area to have been open. I agree, however, with the conclusion of the late Professor Vaglieri that it was roofed over.[3]

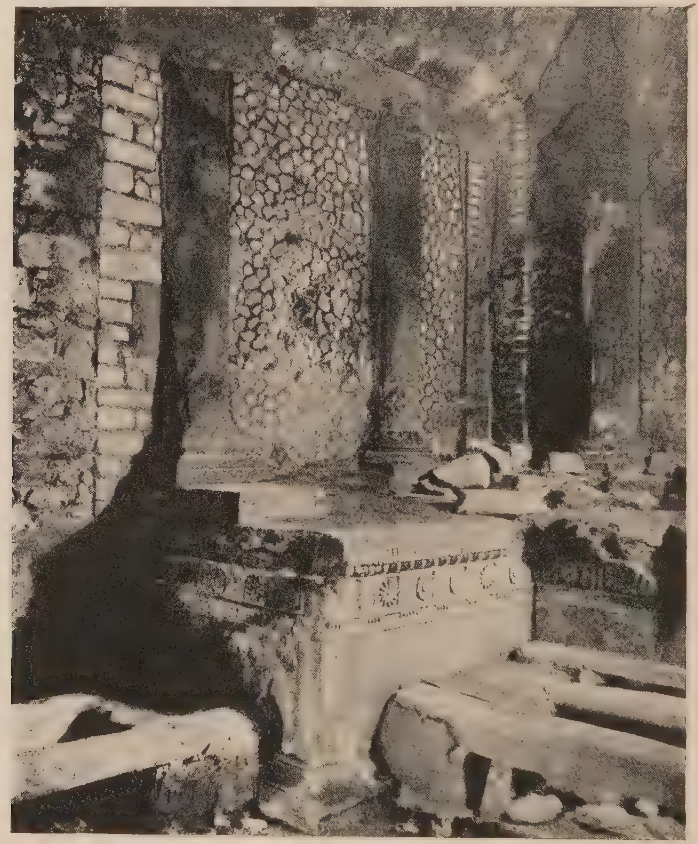

FIG. 12.—TEMPLE OF FORTUNE, INTERIOR.

The difficulties of the problem will be more clearly understood by reference to the plan of this area (Pl. XXIX.). To have any *raison d'être* at all the window openings and the arches above on the north side (Pl. XXXV.) must have corresponded with actual windows and arches on the south side. Otherwise such a treatment for this wall would be pointless, as it forms part of the retaining wall to the cliff. The existence of columns corresponding to the applied columns of this wall is proved at B (Fig. 13). At C there is part of a wall which would have formed a foundation for a row of columns on this line. In the crypt below S. Agapito the wall marked D is visible. This wall obviously corresponded to the double wall referred to above if the area was roofed. The columns at E (in the Museum) are

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[1] Delbrück, i. pp. 67 ff.; ii. p. 41.

[2] Vaglieri, *Bull. Comm.* 1909, pp. 233 ff.

[3] This is also Dr. Ashby's opinion.

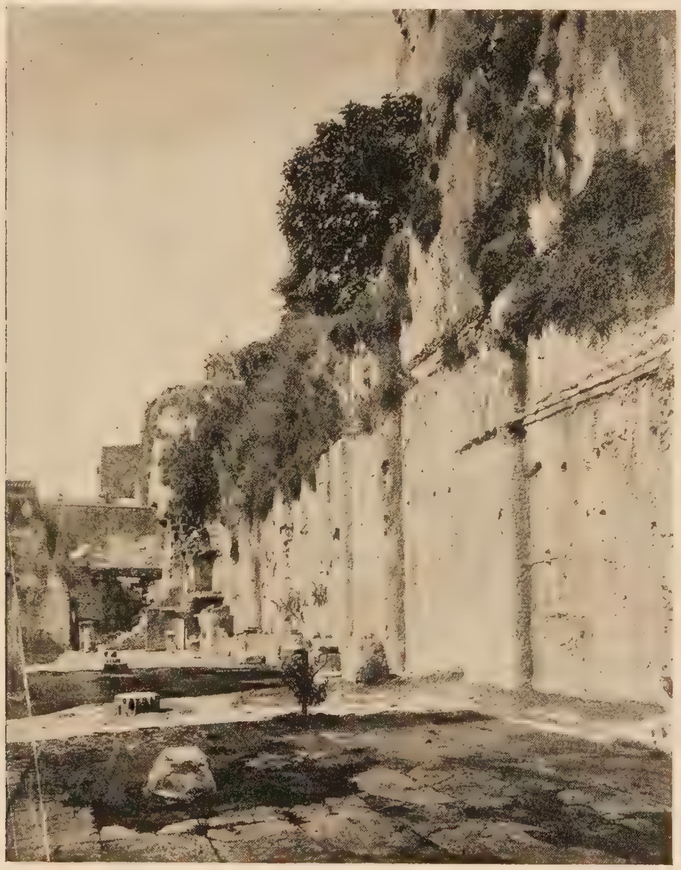

FIG. 13.—AREA BETWEEN GROTTOS SHOWING APPLIED COLUMNS AND CORRESPONDING BASES.

only half the intercolumnation of those of the north wall. This, however, would not matter, as the two rows would not be seen together. The fragment of column in the crypt does not appear to me to be *in situ*. The column bases at F belonged to a portico which ran round the temple and are on a considerably lower level, *i.e.* that of the forum.

The foregoing seems to show that the area was covered, and this theory is borne out by the fact that there are no traces of gutters or channels for the disposal of rain-water in the area. The channel existing between the two parts of the wall on the north is no evidence either way. It would be necessary in any case to carry off the water from the cliff.

The most ancient building of Palestrina is now part of the modern Cathedral of S. Agapito. It is of 'opus quadratum.' The east and west walls have been pierced with arches and made to form the piers of the nave.[1] The north wall has been destroyed, except in the crypt, where a fragment is to be seen, and the south wall is visible only from the balcony over the modern entrance. Sufficient exists, however, to give the exact size of the rectangle. The excavation, still open in the Piazza Regina Margherita, shows that this building stood on a podium with steps leading down to the street and forum on the east side. In 1884 Professor Marucchi discovered traces of the Solarium mentioned by Varro on the south wall.[2] The colonnade surrounding these walls, shown on practically all restorations, is therefore proved impossible. It is probable that this building was restored and embellished in the time of Sulla, as it was the centre of his whole scheme. There is a doubt about its identification, but the general belief is that it was the Curia, or Senate House, of pre-Sullan Praeneste.

Upper Temple and Buildings.—The restoration of the upper part of the town is an easier matter. The whole formed an architectural setting for the more ancient shrine below. A large open space surrounded by a colonnade with a hemicycle, the steps of which still exist (Fig. 14 and Pl. XXXVI.), in the middle of the north side, commanding a magnificent view of the plain to the south, is crowned by a round temple. This space probably served, as Professor Marucchi suggests,[3] as an open place for functions and sacrifices, which were not possible in the ancient forum owing to its restricted size and to the presence of other monuments. The circular temple at the top is mentioned in the Colonna petition,[1] in which it is described as like S. Maria Rotunda, *i.e.* the Pantheon. This is most unlikely, considering the date, although Palladio restores it in this way. Probably all that is meant is that it was a circular building. We have examples of contemporary round temples in the so-called Temple of

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[1] Cf. Temple of Concord at Girgenti.

[2] Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1918, pp. 226 ff. Contains the most detailed discussion of the problem of the central building, with photographs of the traces of the 'solarium.' A very clear drawing of the 'solarium' is also given in his *Guida*, Fig. 9.

[3] Marucchi, *Atti della Pont. Acc.* 1910, p. 157.

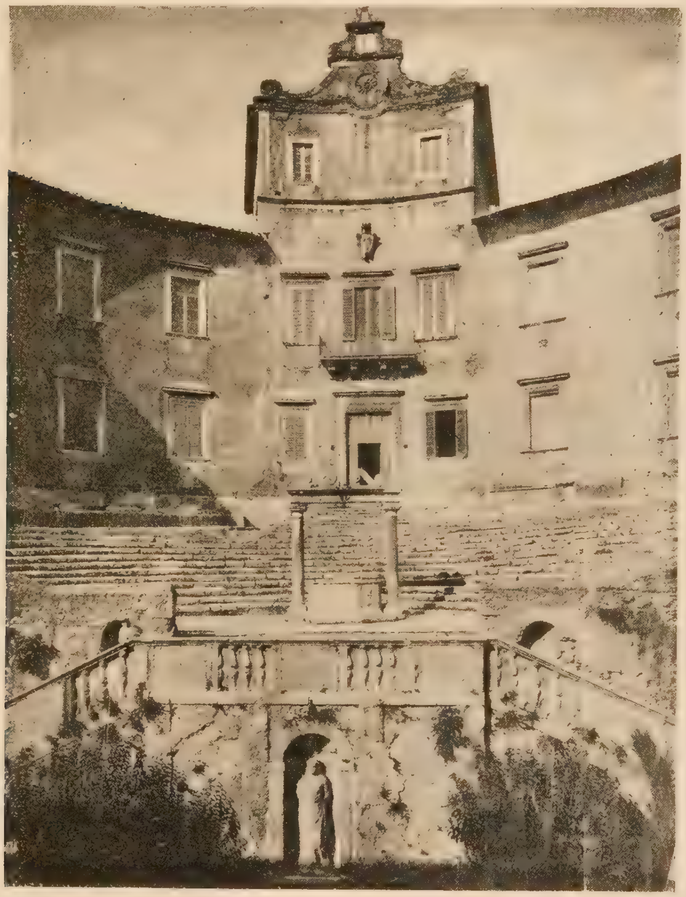

FIG. 14.—PALAZZO BARBERINI, SHOWING STEPS OF HEMICYCLE

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[1] See above, p. 239, n. 5.

Vesta, in Rome, in its earlier form, and of the Sibyl at Tibur (Tivoli). These are both peripteral, and I have consequently followed them in my restoration. The semicircular flight of steps is shown in the Pirro Ligorio drawings, and also in Huyot's restoration. The large block of tufa found in front of the modern staircase was probably the substructure of a colossal statue.[1]

Reservoirs.—The problem of water must always have been important to Praeneste, which was dependent on reservoirs for a satisfactory supply,[2] at any rate until the construction of aqueducts, and even afterwards as a matter of convenience. There are remains of five reservoirs. The most ancient, of 'opus quadratum,' is along the modern Corso, and is mentioned only by Magoffin.[3] There were two tanks, open to the sky, on the lower platform. A considerable part of one exists in the Barberini garden. It is of brick construction, faced with cement, and probably of Flavian date.[4] In the east part of the town traces of two walls of 'opus incertum' have been found, which were probably part of the north and south walls of a reservoir on that side. There is also an aqueduct like the one existing under the Barberini garden. The construction is much earlier than that of the other reservoir, and the tanks could not have corresponded in size nor in relation to the centre axis. Pieces of granite columns in the gardens on this side suggest colonnades such as I have shown in the restoration.

Below the town, on the west, is another large reservoir (Fig. 15) of brick which, according to Nibby, is of the time of Tiberius,[5] but the brickwork seems to be considerably later.[6] This probably supplied the lower town. Finally, at the Porta San Martino is a small reservoir of 'opus incertum,' which is unfaced and must have been below the level of the ancient road.

Other Buildings.—In suggesting other suitable buildings I have referred to similar towns such as Anxur (Terracina), Tibur, Tusculum and Pompeii. The basilica shown on the east of the forum is like that which exists at Anxur, and the temple, with its enclosure on the west of the central axis, is similar to that of Apollo at Pompeii. In the remaining space I have suggested quarters for the priests and attendants of the sanctuary, and have also shown shops and houses, small baths and villas. These are all natural to a famous shrine and health resort such as we know Praeneste to have been; but it must not be forgotten that after Sulla and in Imperial times the centre of civic life lay not here but in the new town on the plain, where in consequence were many buildings which might otherwise have been looked for here.

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[1] *Not. Scavi.*

[2] Strabo, v. 3. 11. See above, p. 231, n. 2.

[3] Magoffin, p. 41.

[4] This is also the opinion of Mr. C. Densmore Curtis, who kindly examined the brickwork with us.

[5] *Analisi*, p. 503; *C.I.L.* xiv. 2911 was found near here

[6] Mr. Curtis agreed with us in this.

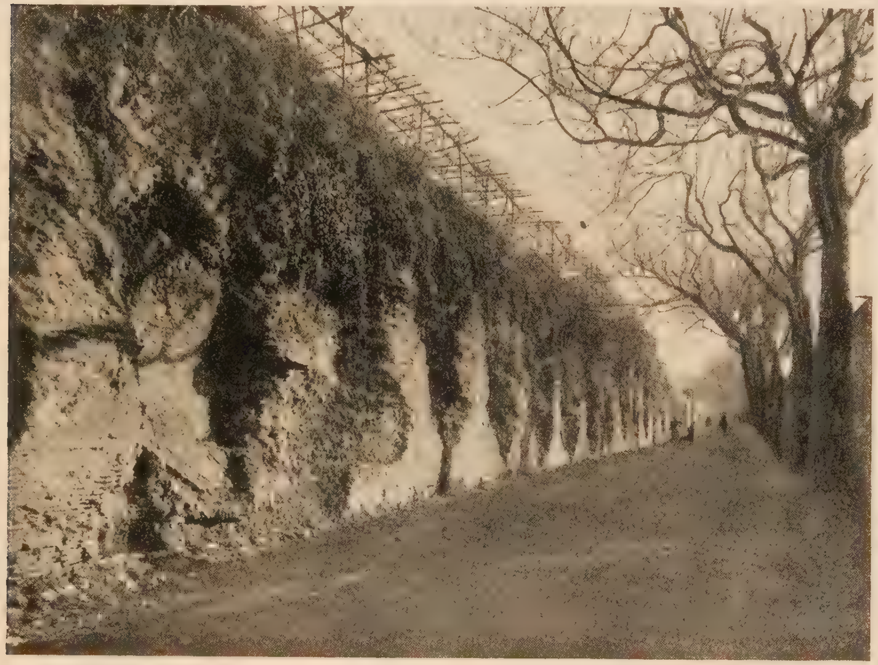

FIG. 15.—RESERVOIR BELOW THE TOWN.

The type of house has been assumed to be rather that of Ostia[1] than of Pompeii. The Pompeian type would not have been so adaptable because of the restrictions of space imposed by the terraces. The Ostian house, unlike the Pompeian 'domus' with its atrium and horizontal development, depends for light on a façade with windows and develops vertically after the fashion of a modern house. Thus it is much more fitted for places where for any reason the land available for building is limited, as must have been the case on the hill at Praeneste.

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[1] Calza, *Mon. dei Lincei*, xxiii. 1915. *La Preminenza dell' 'Insula' nella Edilizia Romana.*

Very little is known of the planning of villas in the neighbourhood of Rome; but for the general appearance of their exterior I have been guided by wall paintings[1] in Rome and at Pompeii.

[Figs. 2, 5, 9 and Pl. XXXVI. are reproduced from photographs by Dr. T. Ashby; fig. 3, from a photograph by Brogi; figs. 8, 11, 12, 15, from photographs by Moscioni; figs, 13, 14 and Pll. XXXIV., XXXV., from photographs by Alinari.]

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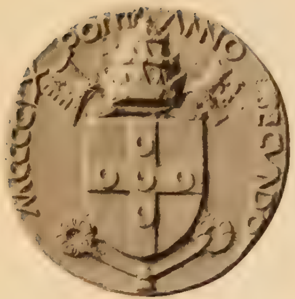
[1] Rostovtzeff, 'Die Hellenistisch-Romanische Architekturlandschaft' (*Röm. Mitt* 1911, 1–2). Photographs *passim*.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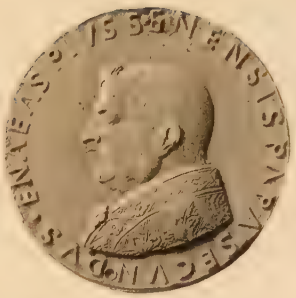
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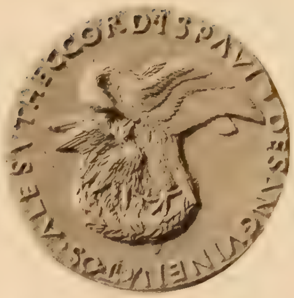
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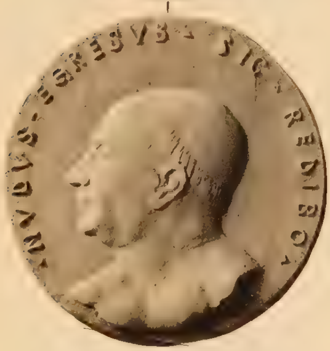
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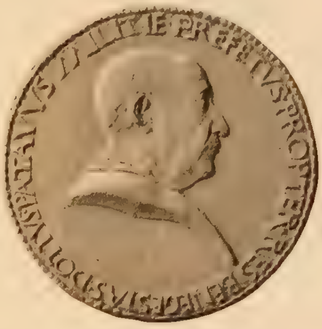
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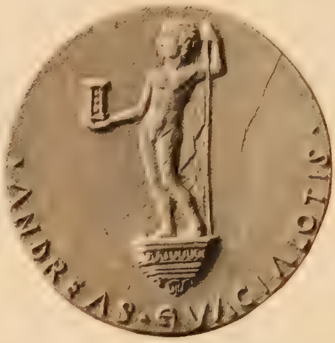
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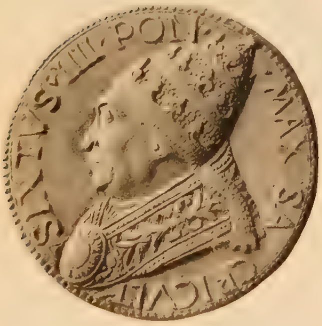
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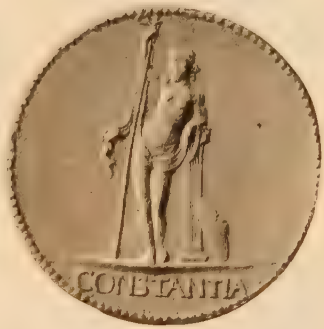

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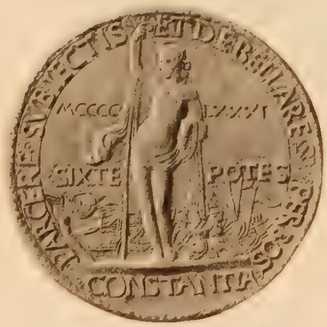

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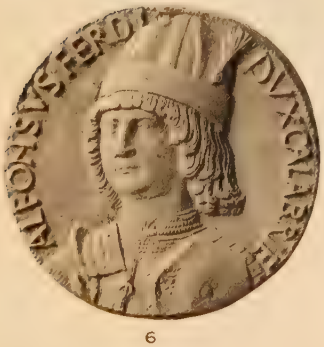
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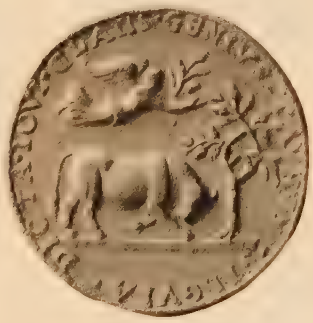
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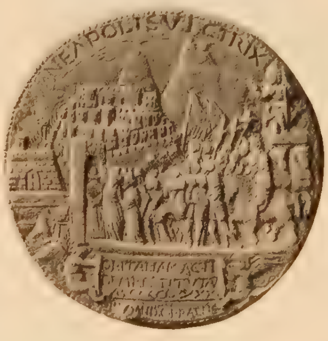

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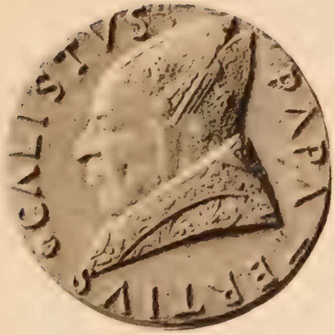
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. · PIUS II.—SIXTUS IV.



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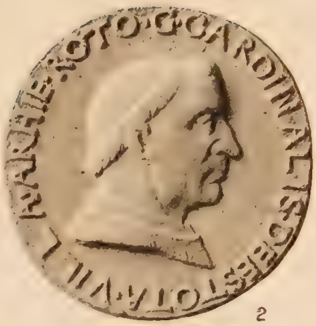

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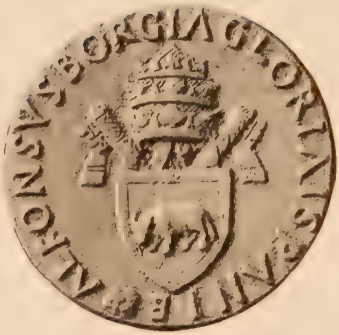

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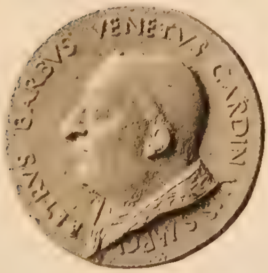

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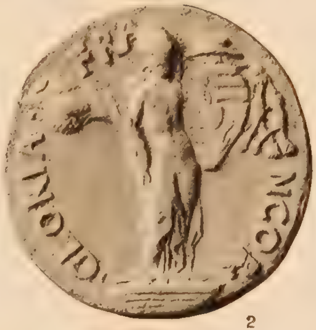

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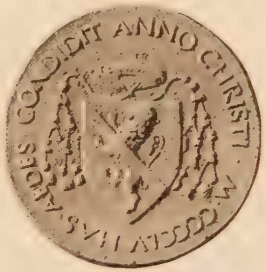

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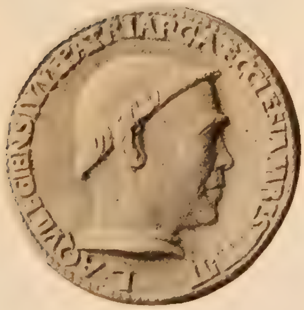

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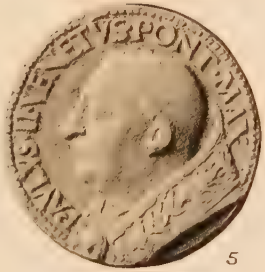

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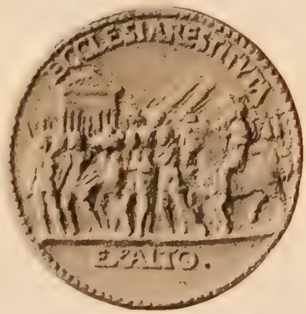

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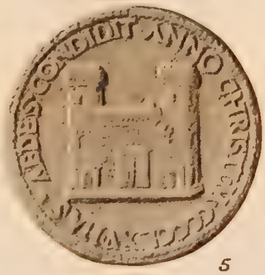

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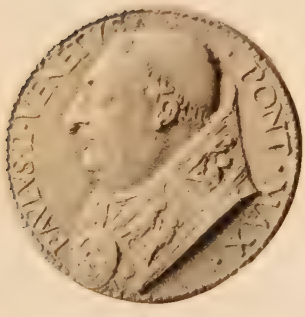

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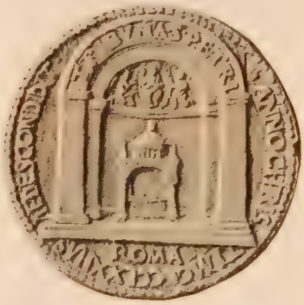

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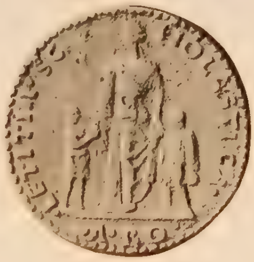

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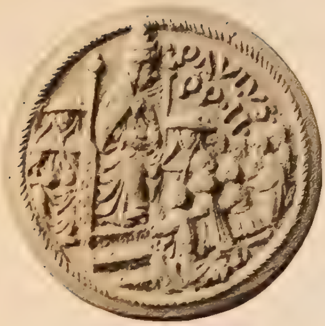
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. CALIXTUS III.—PAUL II.



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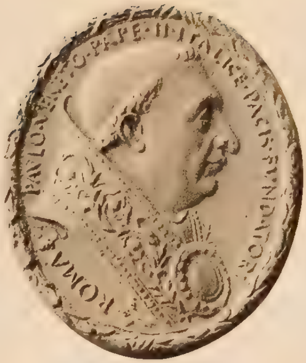

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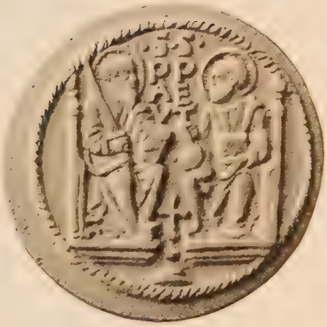

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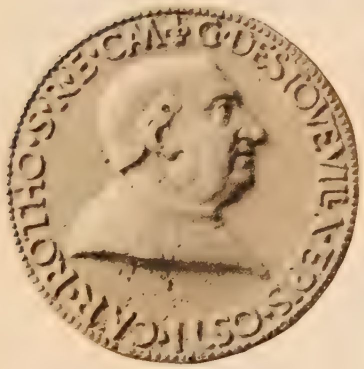

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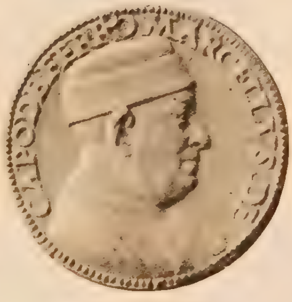

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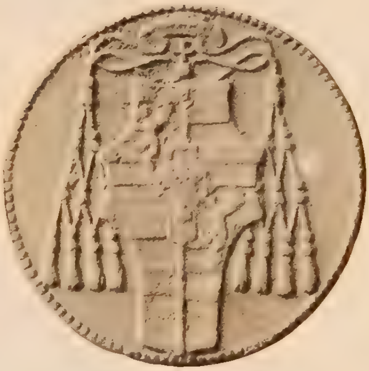

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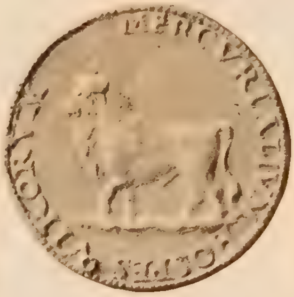

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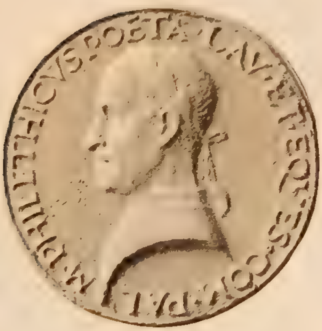

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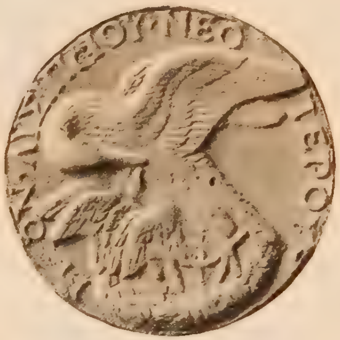

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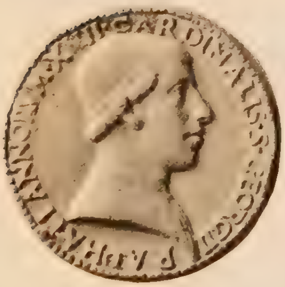

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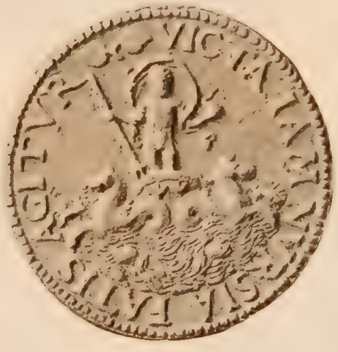

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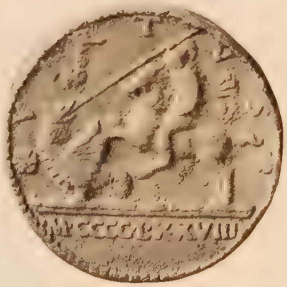

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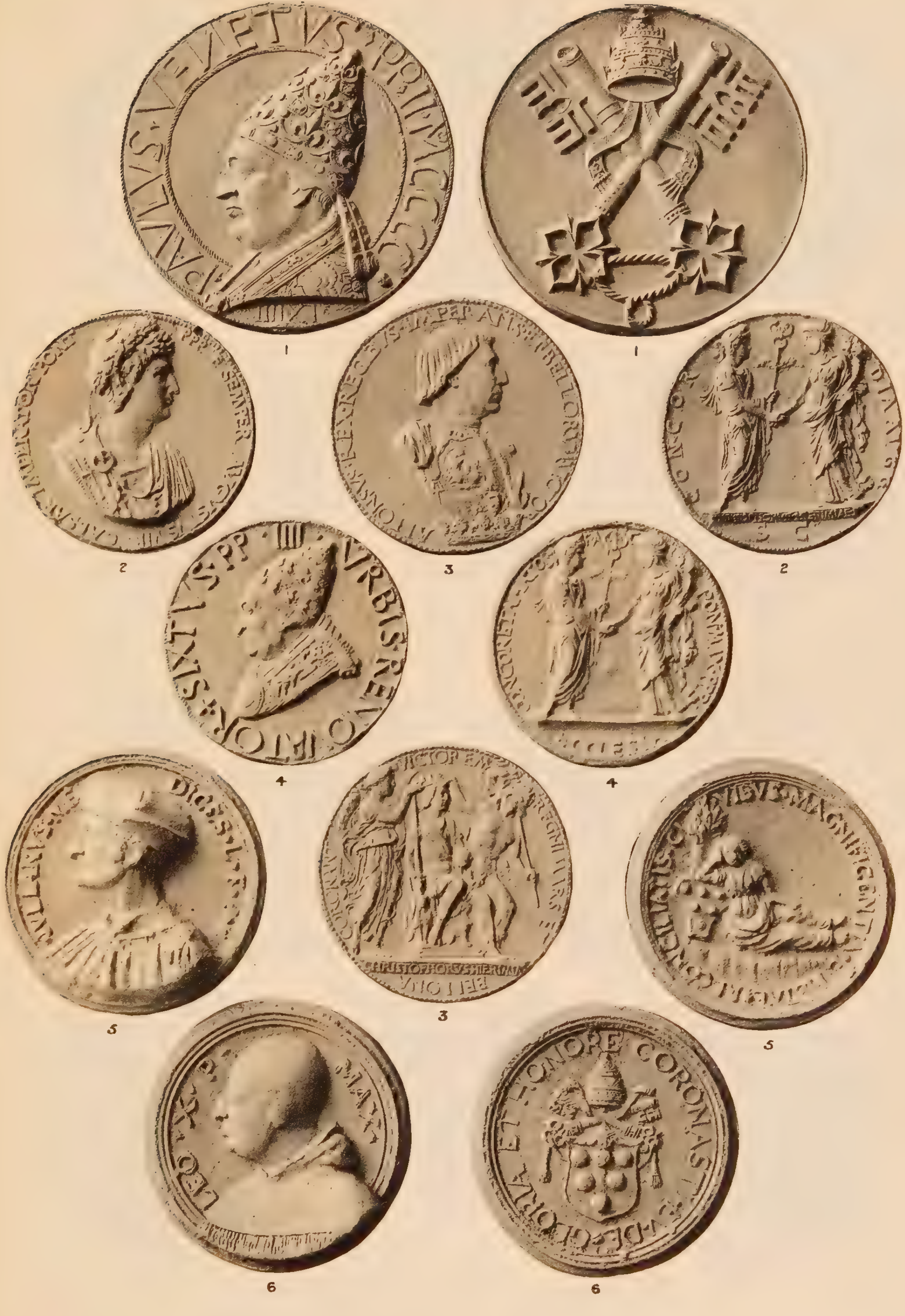
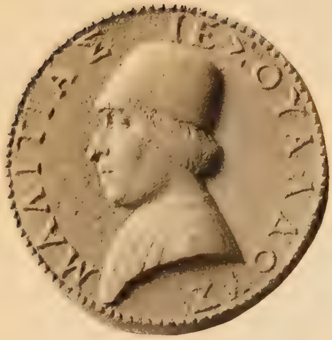
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. PAUL II.—SIXTUS IV.



ROMAN MEDALLISTS. PAUL II.—LEO X.



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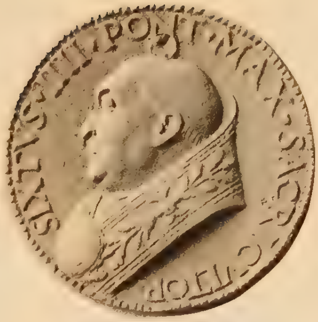

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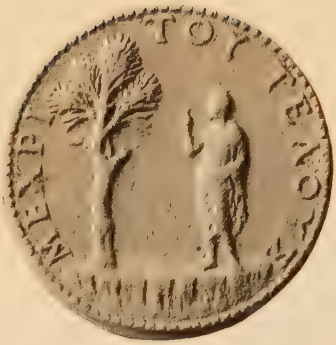

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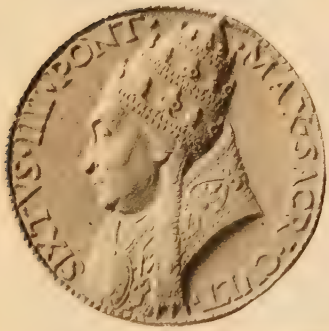

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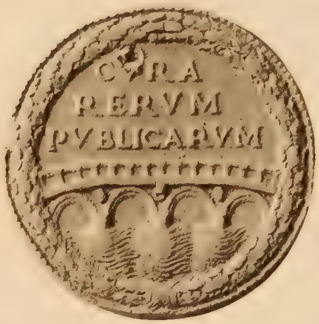

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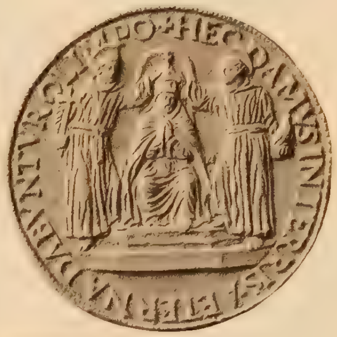

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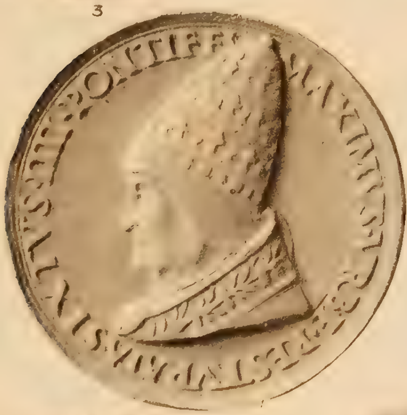

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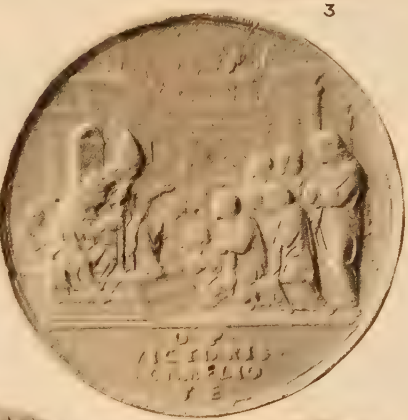

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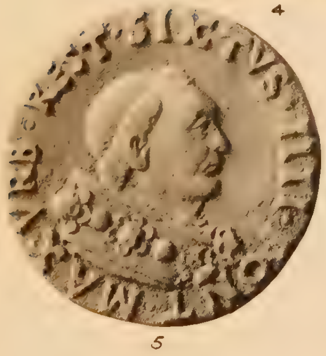

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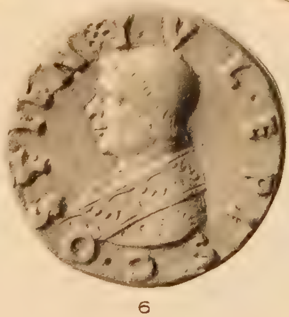

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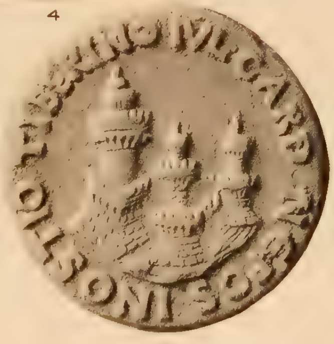

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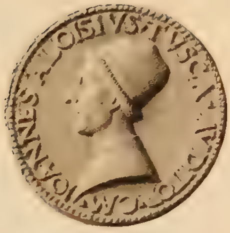
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. SIXTUS IV.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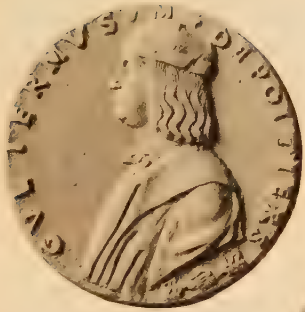
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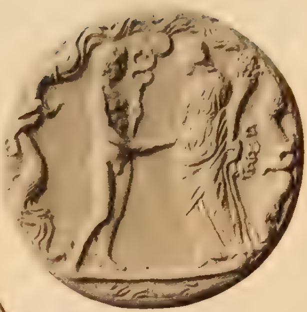
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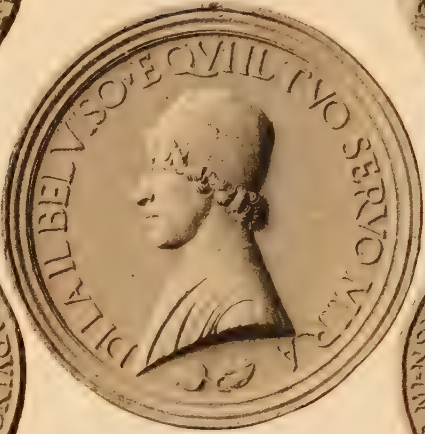
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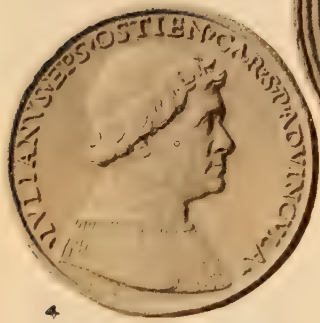
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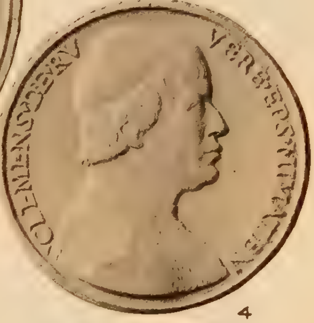
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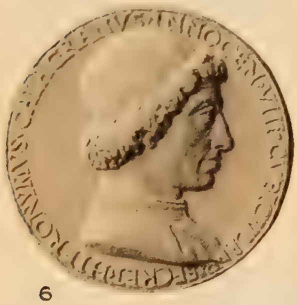
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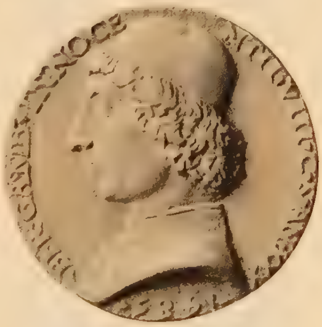
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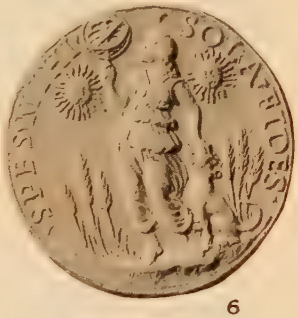
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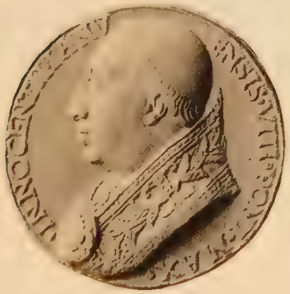
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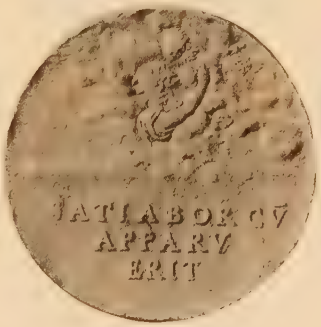

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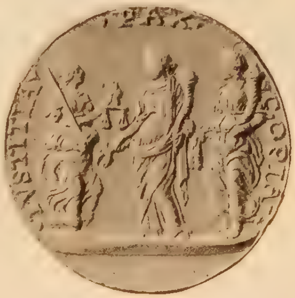
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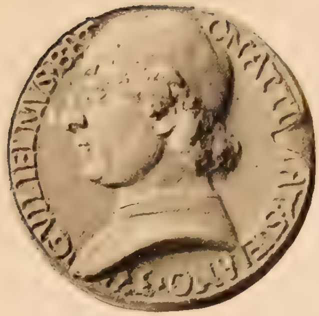
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. SIXTUS IV.—INNOCENT VIII.



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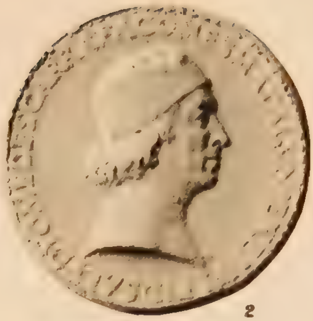

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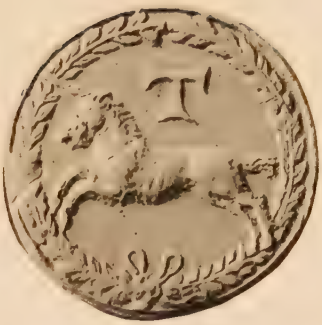

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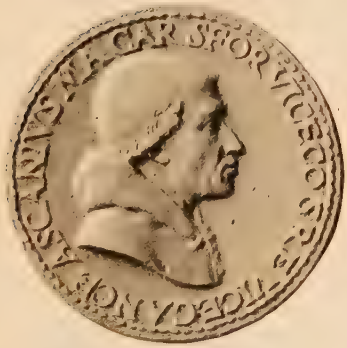

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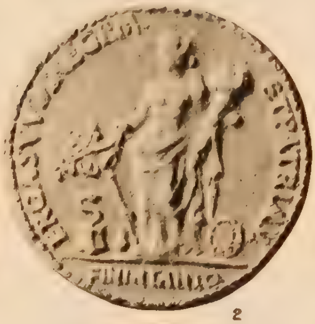

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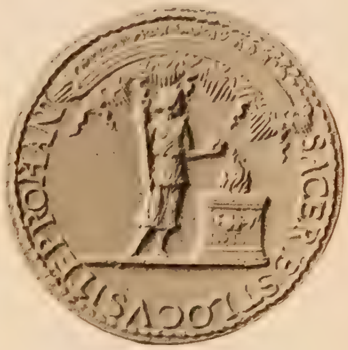

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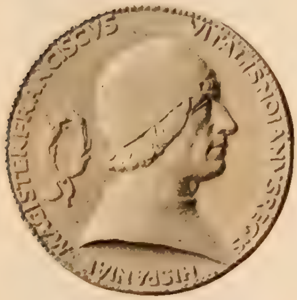

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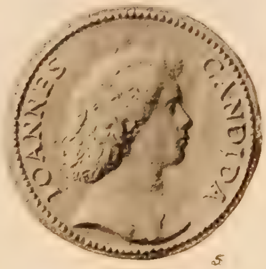

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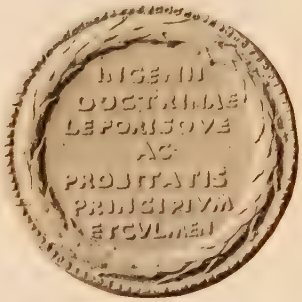

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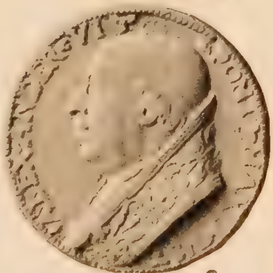

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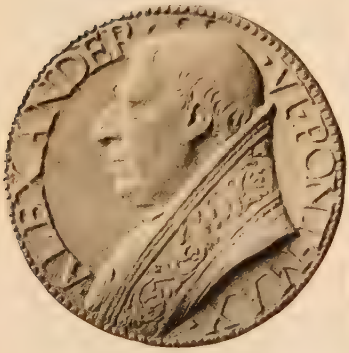

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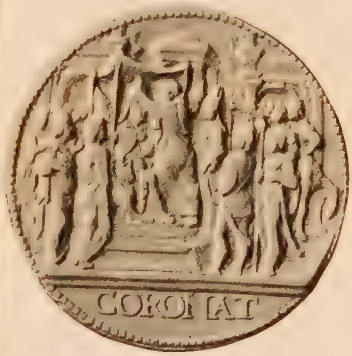

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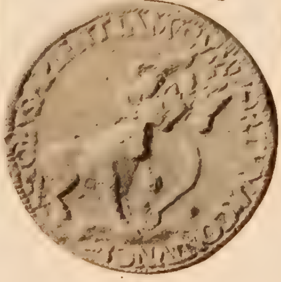

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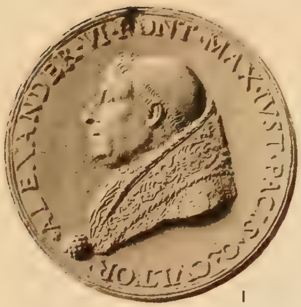
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. INNOCENT VIII.—ALEXANDER VI.



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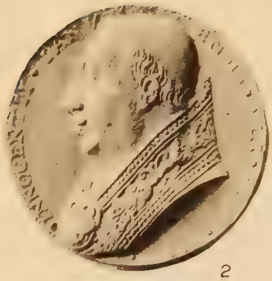
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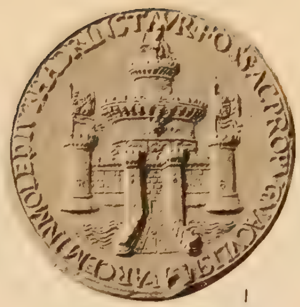
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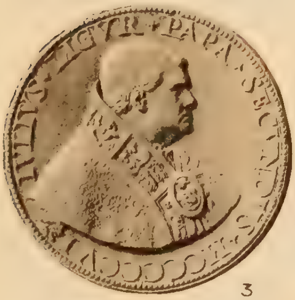

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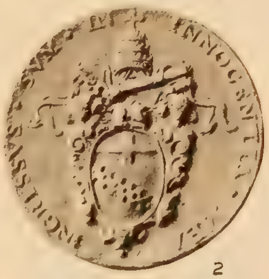
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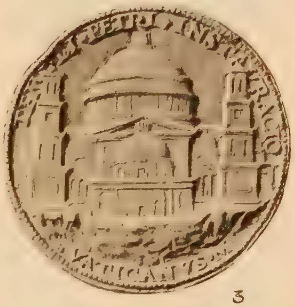

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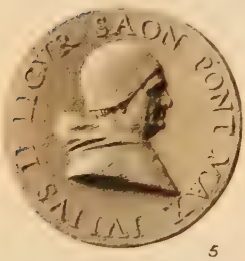

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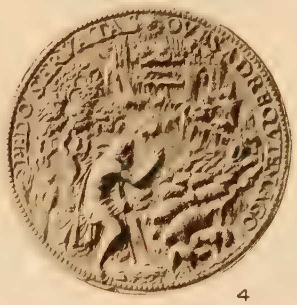
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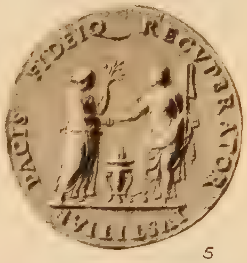

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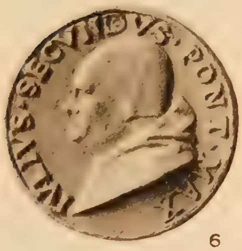

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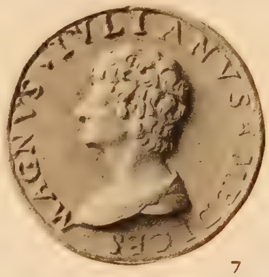

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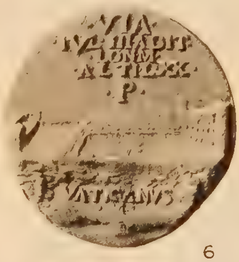

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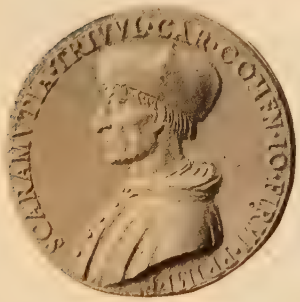
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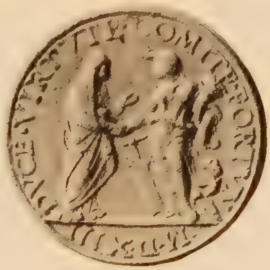
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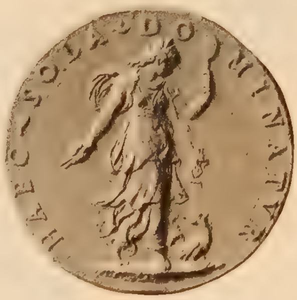

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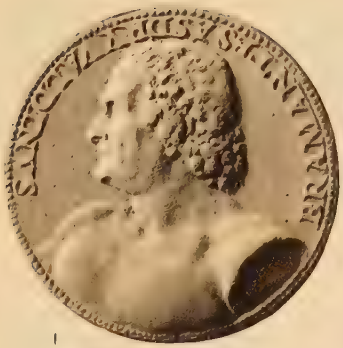
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. INNOCENT VIII.—LEO X.



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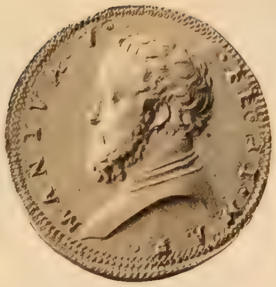

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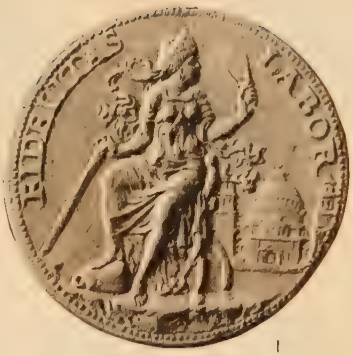

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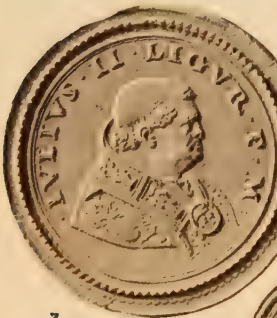

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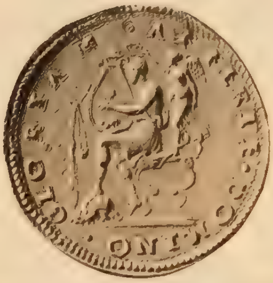

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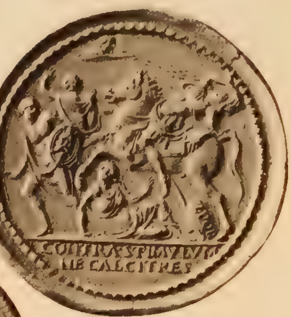

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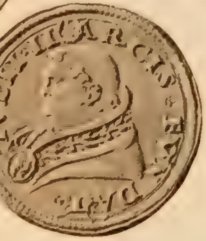

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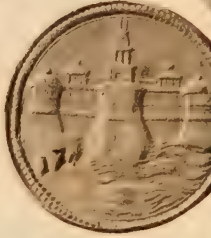

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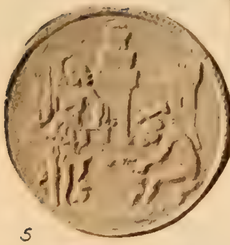

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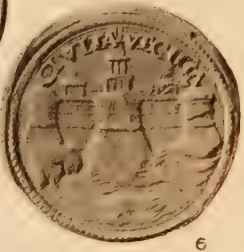

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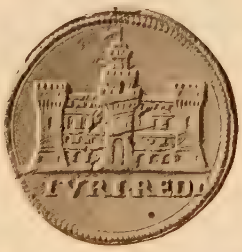

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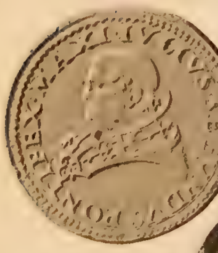

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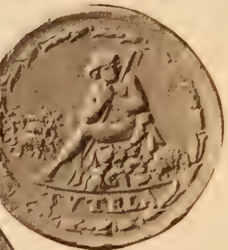

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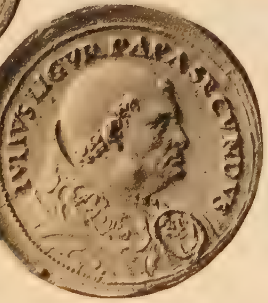

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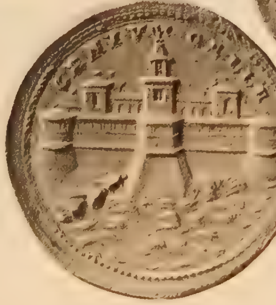

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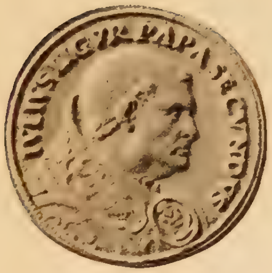
ROMAN MEDALLISTS. JULIUS II.—LEO X.



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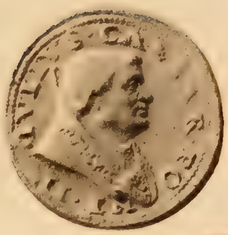

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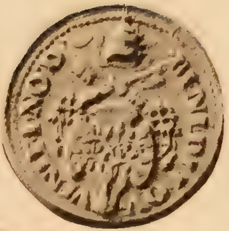

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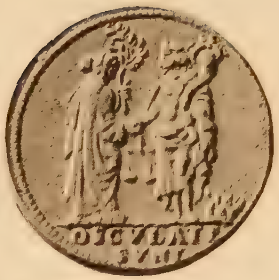

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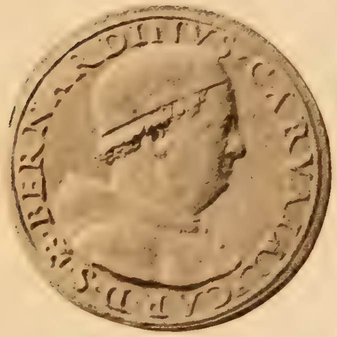

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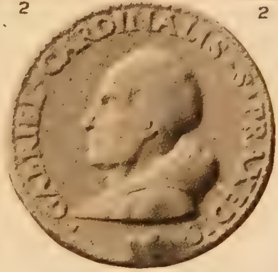

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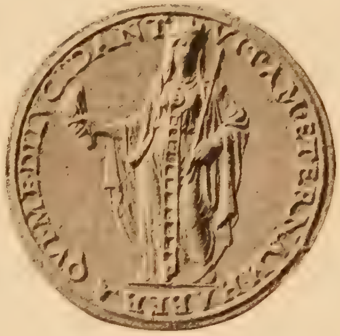

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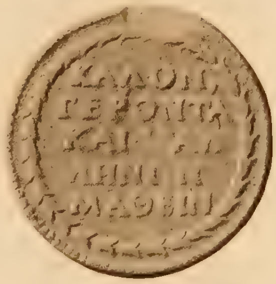

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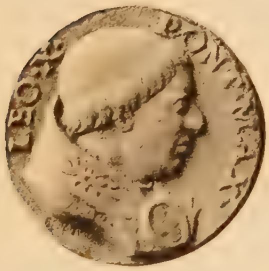

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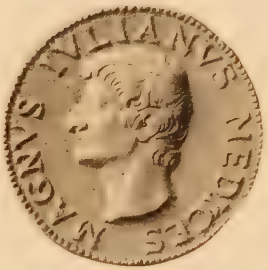

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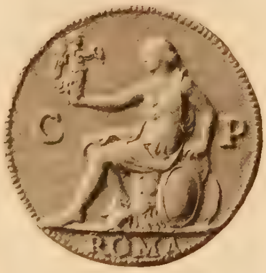

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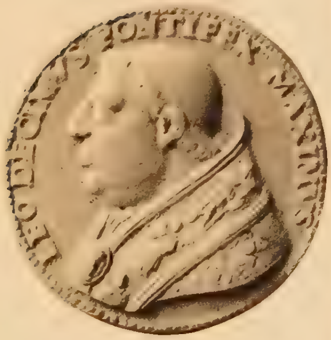

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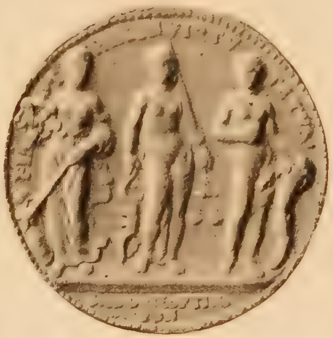

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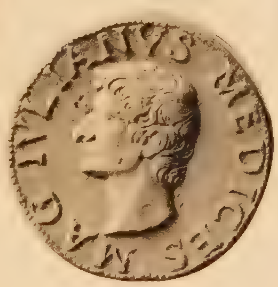
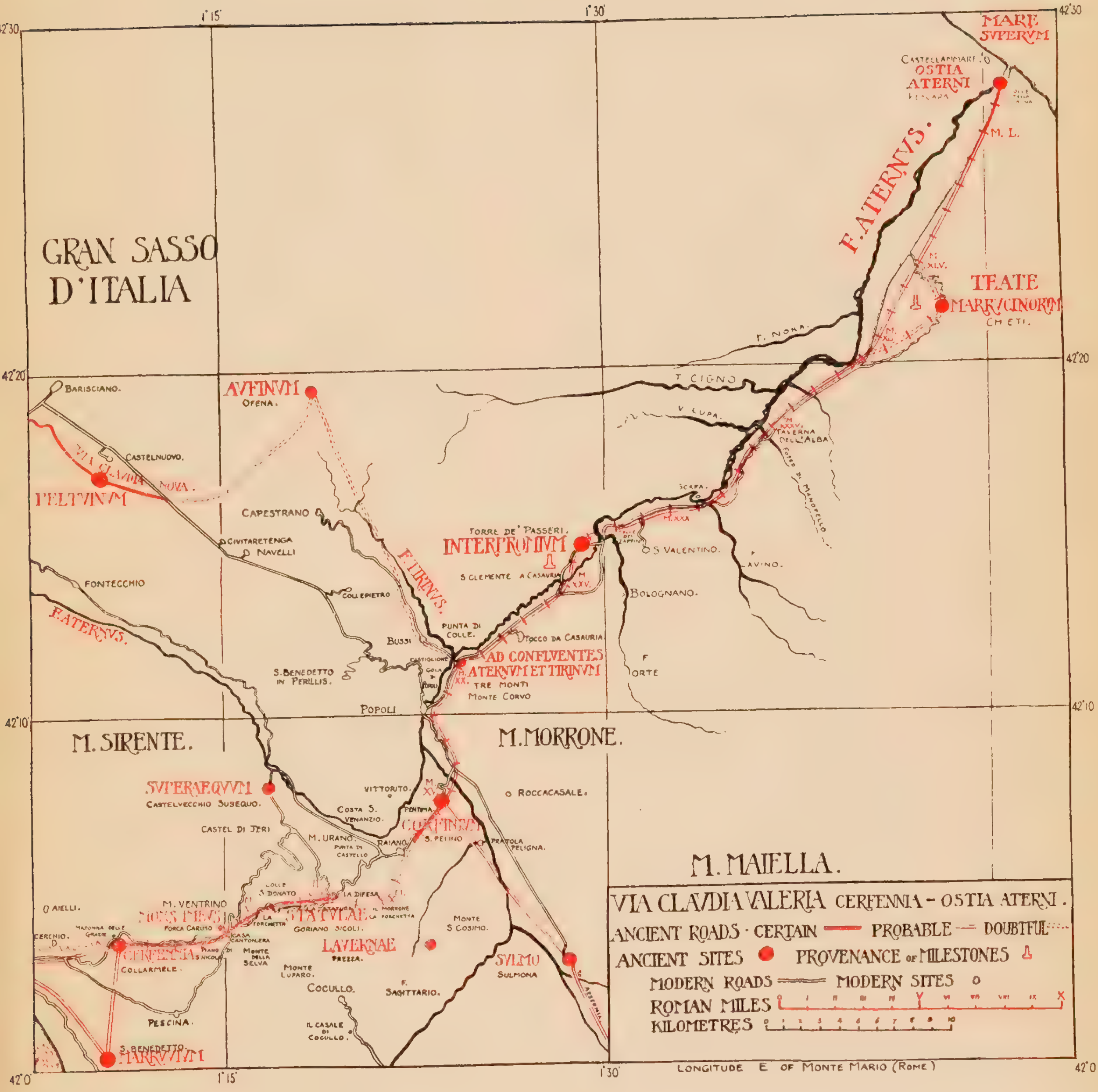


7

ROMAN MEDALLISTS. JULIUS II.-LEO X.


VIA CLAVDIA VALERIA CERFENNIA – OSTIA ATERNI.
ANCIENT ROADS · CERTAIN PROBABLE DOUBTFUL
ANCIENT SITES ● PROVENANCE of MILESTONES
MODERN ROADS MODERN SITES ○
ROMAN MILES
KILOMETRES
LONGITUDE E OF MONTE MARIO (ROME)
42°30
1°15'
1°30'
42°20
42°10
42°0
GRAN SASSO D'ITALIA
MARE SVPERVM
CASTELLAMMARE
OSTIA ATERNI
PESCARA
F. ATERNVS.
M. L.
M. XLV.
TEATE MARRVCINORVM
CHIETI.
F. NORA.
T. CIGNO
V. LUPA.
M. XXXV.
TAVERNA DELL'ALBA
FOSSO DI MANOFELLO
SCAFA.
M. XXX
S. VALENTINO.
LAVINO.
BOLOGNANO.
F. ORTE
TORRE DE' PASSERI.
INTERPROMIVM
S. CLEMENTE A CASAURIA
M. XXV.
PUNTA DI COLLE.
TOCCO DA CASAURIA
AD CONFLVENTES ATERNVM ET TIRINVM
M. XX.
TRE MONTI
MONTE CORVO
POPOLI
BUSSI
F. TIRINVS.
COLLEPIETRO
S. BENEDETTO IN PERILLIS.
CAPESTRANO
CIVITARETENGA
NAVELLI
AVFINVM
OFENA.
BARISCIANO.
CASTELNUOVO.
VIA CLAVDIA NOVA.
PELTVINVM
FONTECCHIO
F. ATERNVS.
M. SIRENTE.
M. MORRONE.
M. MAIELLA.
SVPERAEQVVM
CASTELVECCHIO SUBEQUO.
CASTEL DI IERI
VITTORITO.
COSTA S. VENANZIO.
PENTIMA
M. XV.
CORFINIVM
S. PELINO
RAIANO
M. URANO
PUNTA DI CASTELLO
PRATOLA PELIGNA.
ROCCACASALE.
COLLE S. DONATO
LA DIFESA
STATVLAE
IL MORRONE LA FORCHETTA
GORIANO SICOLI.
M. VENTRINO
MONS IMEVS
FORCA CARUSO
LA FORCHETTA
CASA CANTONIERA
AIELLI.
MADONNA DELLE GRAZIE
CERCHIO.
CERFENNIA
PIANO DI S. NICOLA
MONTE DELLA SELVA
COLLARMELE.
LAVERNAE
PREZZA.
MONTE LUPARO.
MONTE S. COSIMO.
SVLMO
SULMONA
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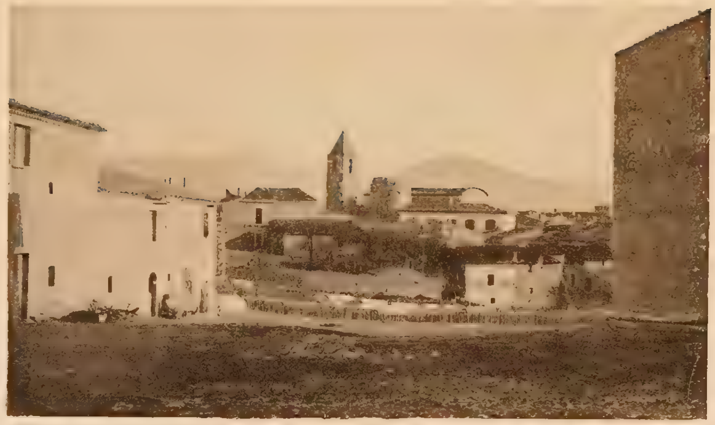
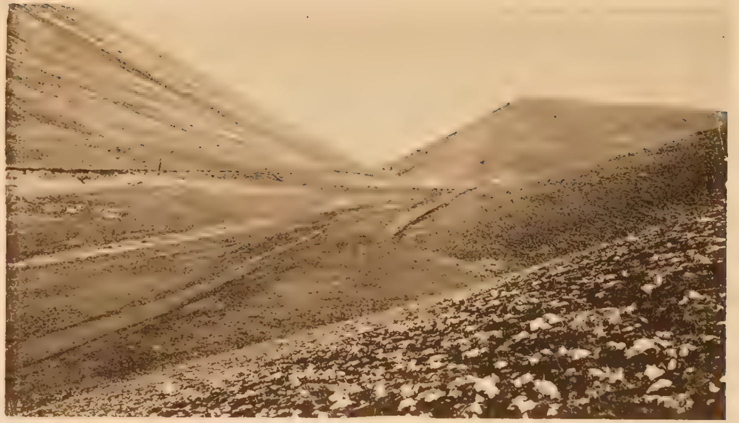
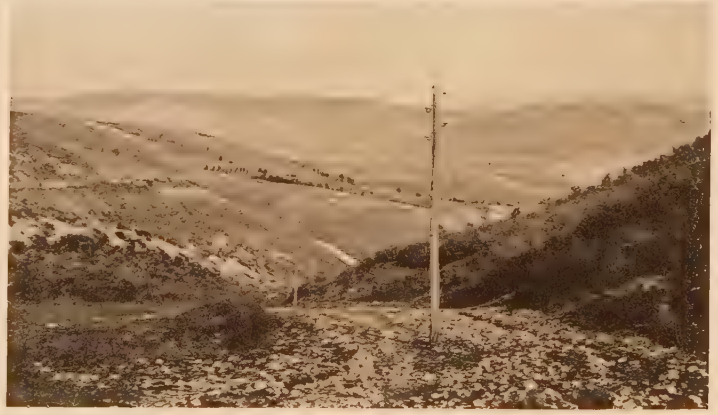
F. SAGITTARIO.
IL CASALE DI COCULLO.
PESCINA.
S. BENEDETTO
MARRVVIVM



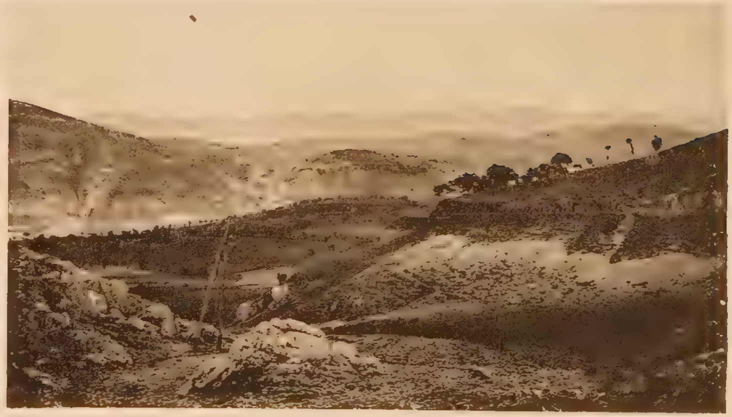
S. FELICITAS IN CERFENNA, COLLARMELE.



WEST OF CASA MASCIOLI.

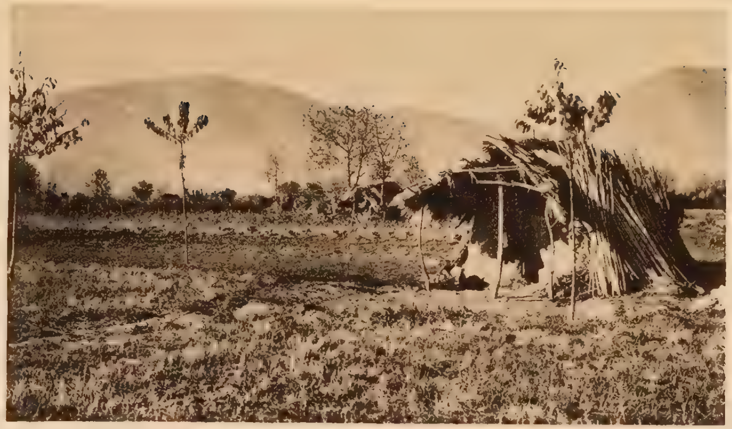


LA FORCHETTA.

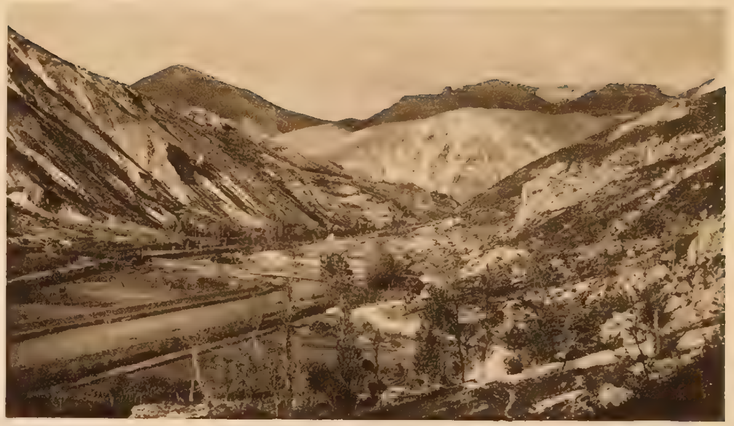


SOUTH-WEST OF GORIANO SICOLI.

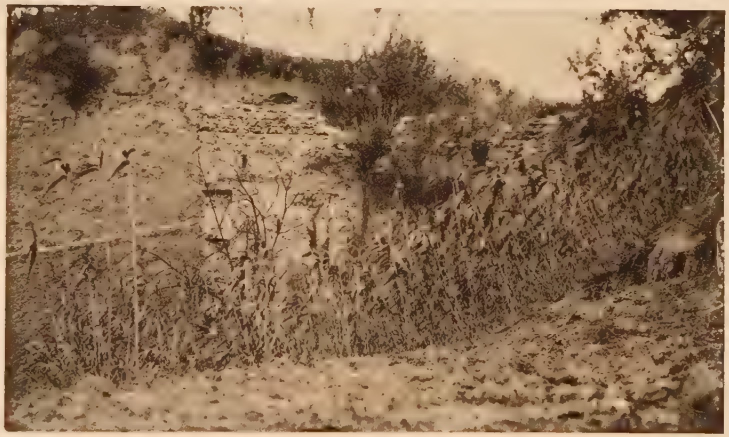
VIA CLAUDIA VALERIA



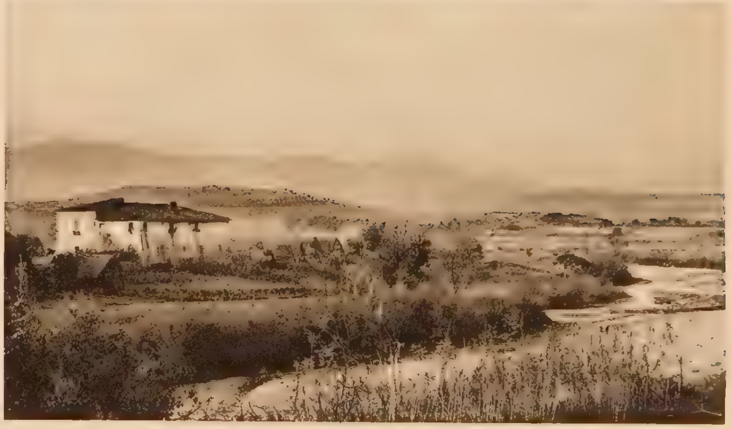
THE SITE OF CORFINIUM.



LA GOLA DI POPOLI.

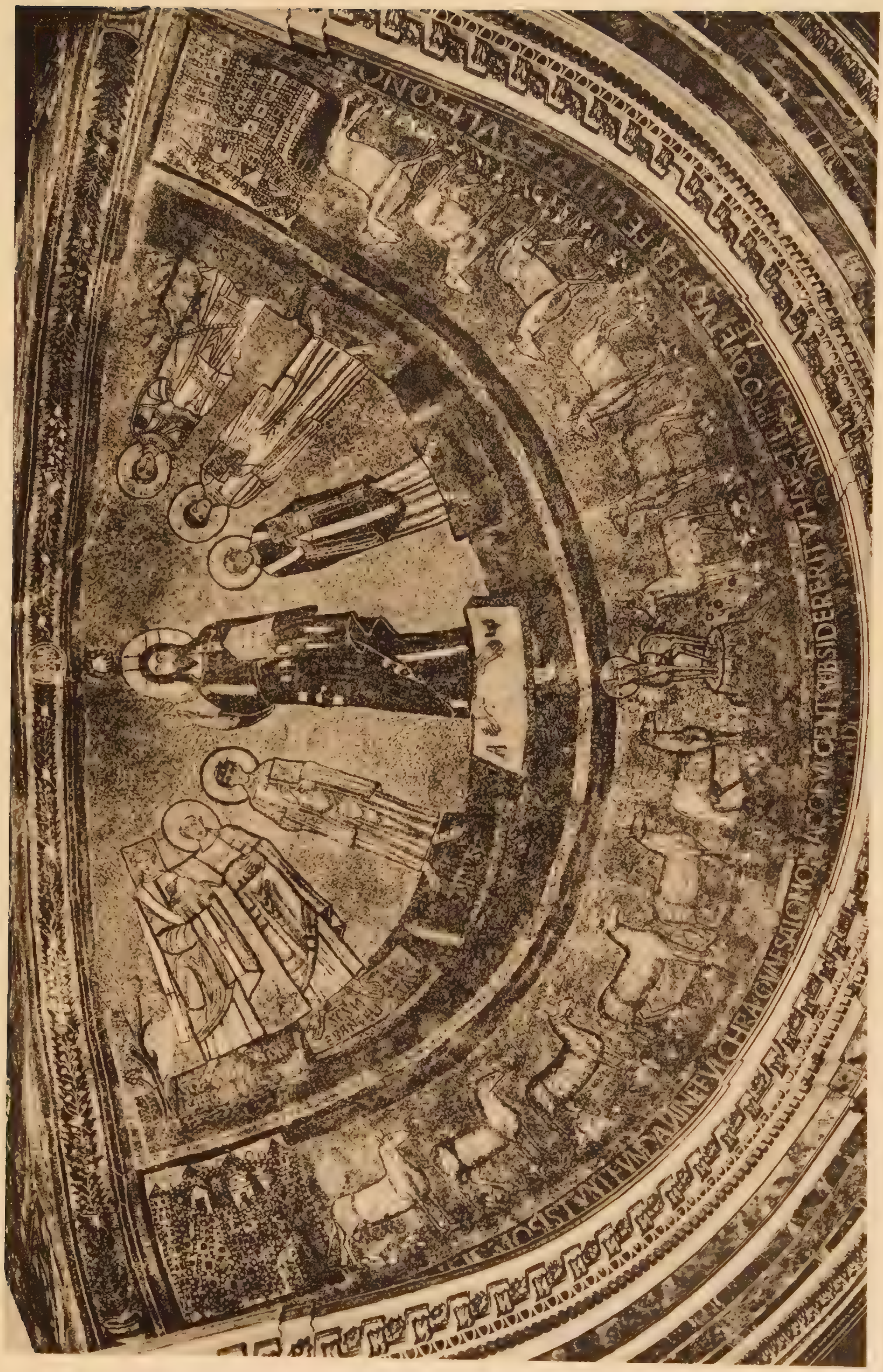


MEDIAEVAL BRIDGE, INTERPROMIUM.



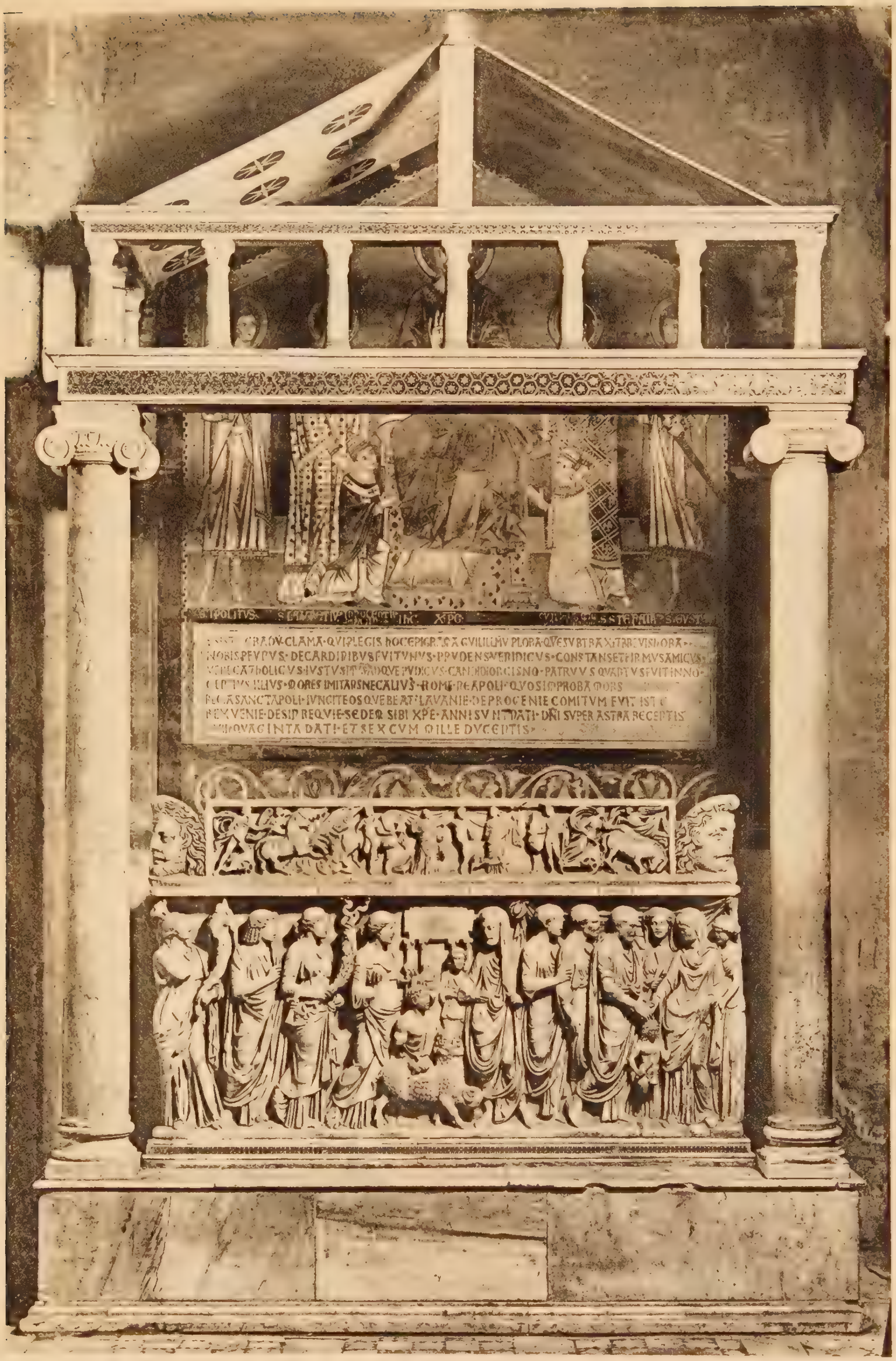
GRAN SASSO D'ITALIA FROM LA TAVERNA DELL'ALBA.

VIA CLAUDIA VALERIA



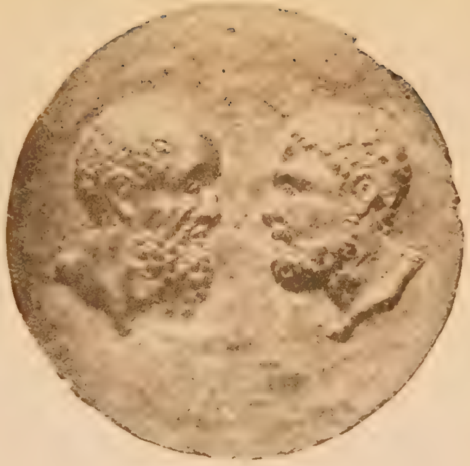
APSIDAL MOSAIC WITH PORTRAIT OF GREGORY IV.

S. MARCO, ROME.



TOMB OF CARDINAL FIESCHI WITH PORTRAIT OF INNOCENT IV.

RENZO FUORI LE MURA, ROME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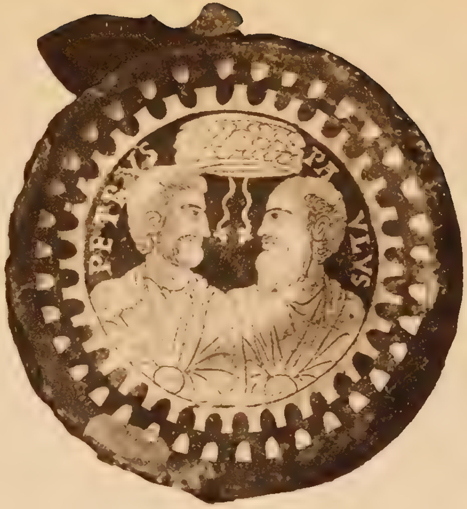

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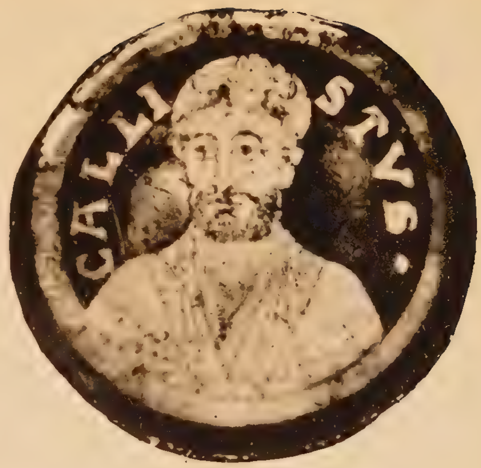

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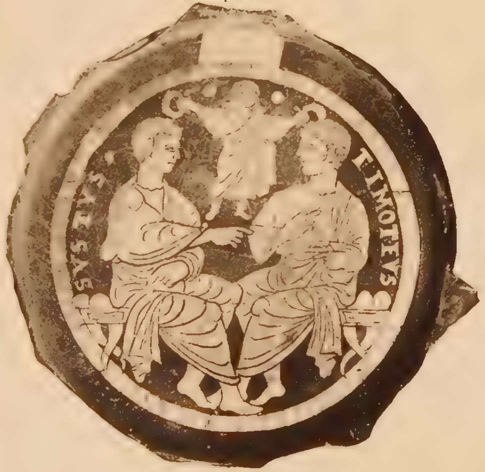

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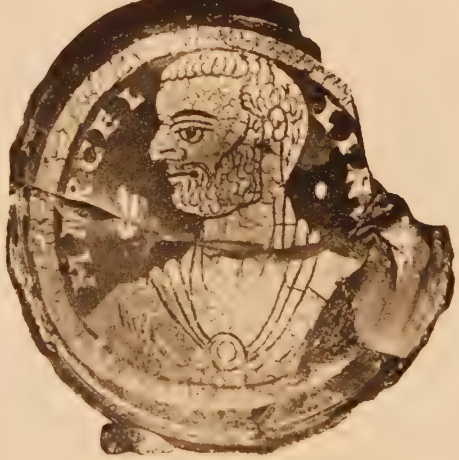

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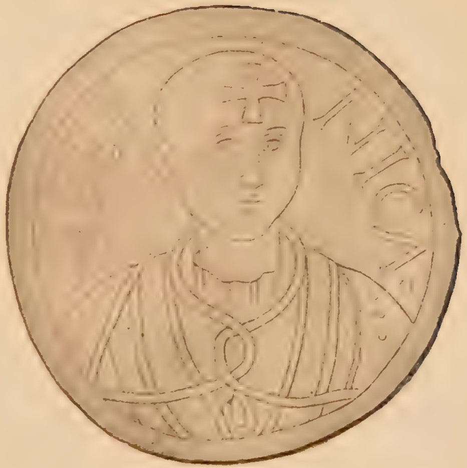
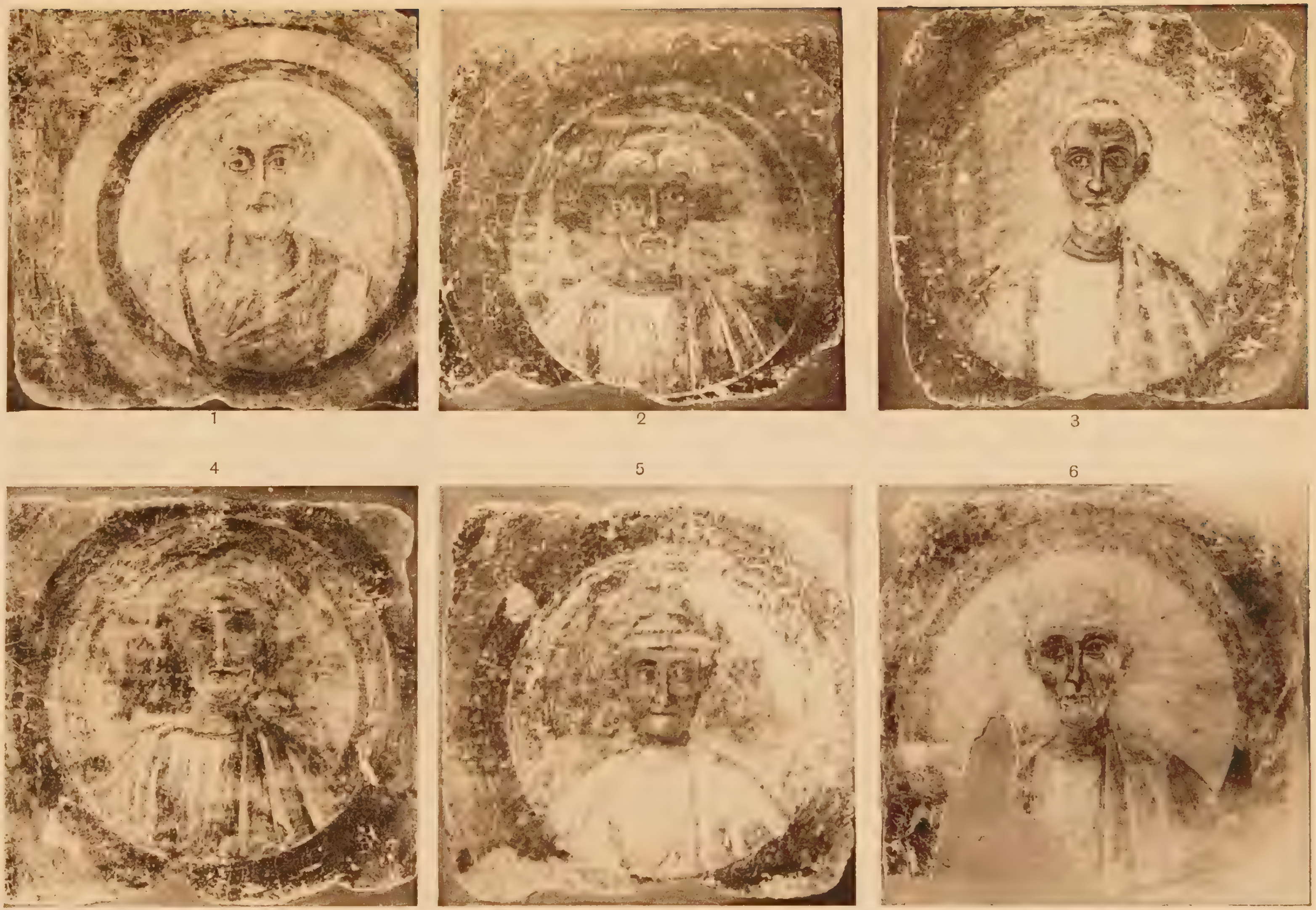
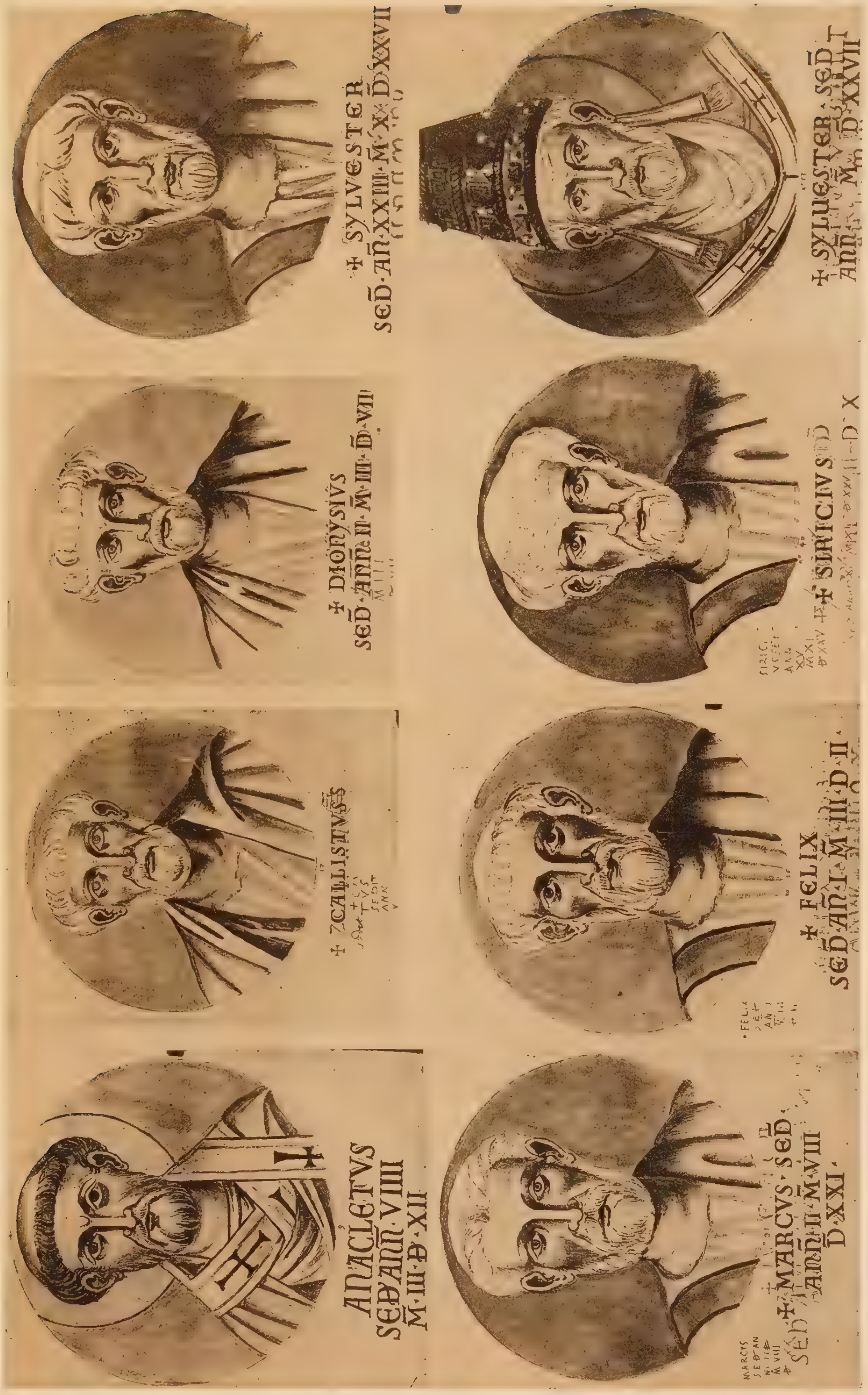


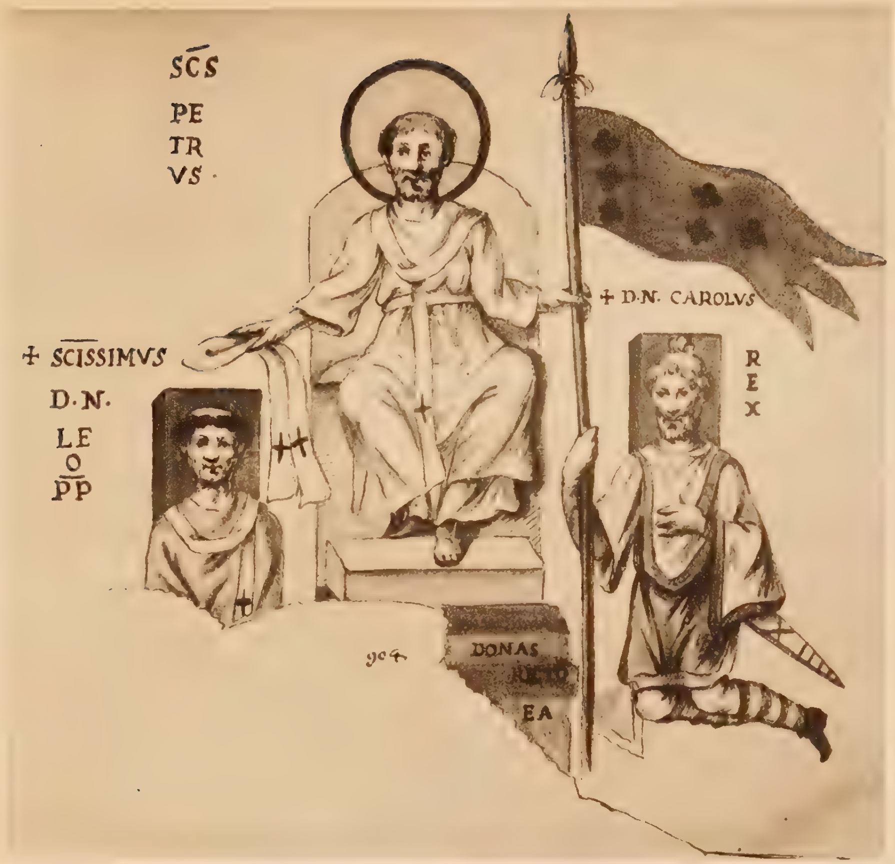
PORTRAITS ON BRONZE PLAQUE (1) AND GILT GLASSES (2–6).


1 2 3
4 5 6

PORTRAITS FROM OLD S. PAUL'S NOW IN THE CLOISTER OF ITS MONASTERY.



GRIMALDI'S COPIES OF PORTRAITS IN OLD S. PAUL'S.



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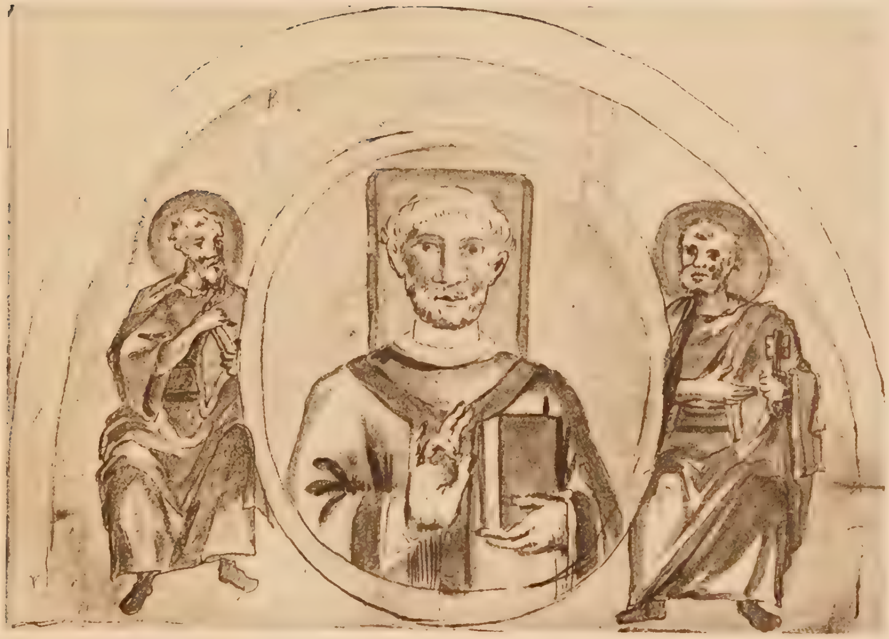
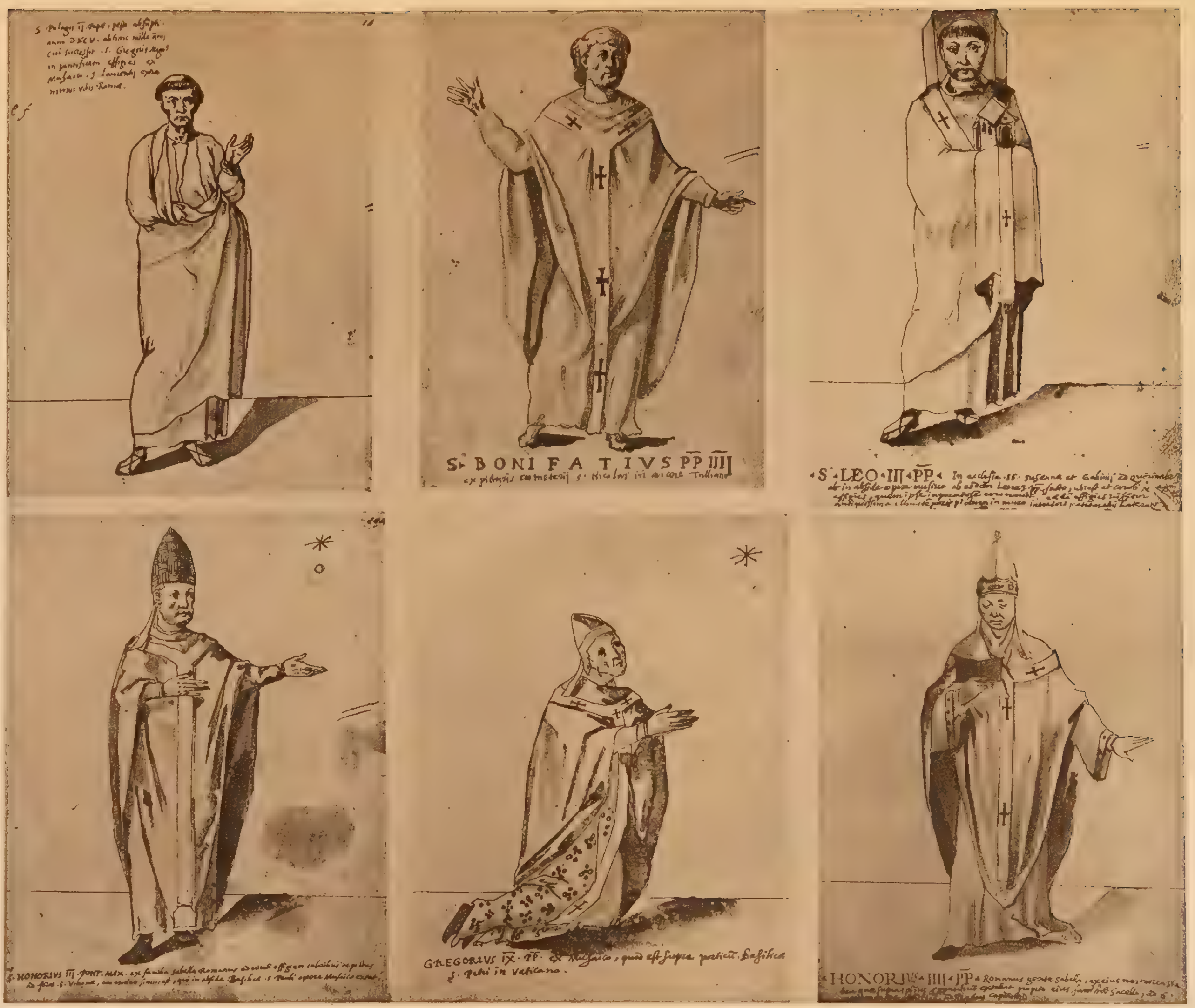


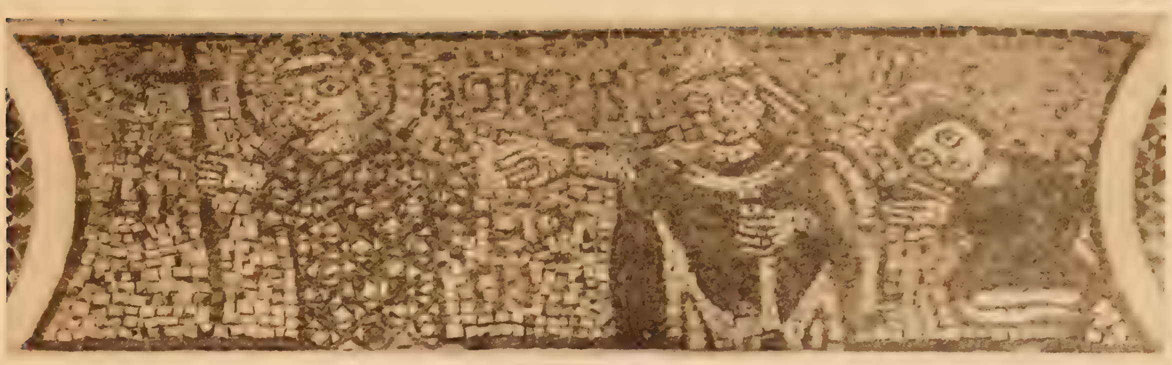
2

1.—COPY OF MOSAIC IN THE TRICLINIUM OF LEO III.

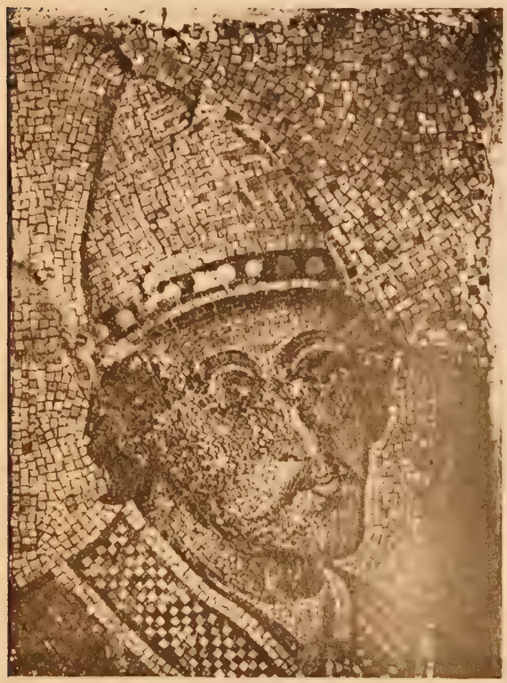
2.—GRIMALDI'S COPY OF FRESCO ABOVE THE SARCOPHAGUS OF JOHN XIII.


S. Pelagius II. Papa, qui ... anno DXCV. abhinc mille annis cui successit S. Gregorius Magnus in pontificatum effigies ex Musaico S. Laurentii extra moenia urbis Romae.
S. BONIFATIUS PP IIII
ex picturis coemeterii s. Nicolai in carcere Tulliano
S. LEO III PP. In ecclesia SS. Susannae et Gabinii ...
S. HONORIUS III. PONT. MAX. ex familia Sabella Romanus ...
GREGORIUS IX. PP. ex Musaico, quod est supra porticum Basilicae S. Petri in Vaticano.
HONORIUS IIII PP. Romanus gente Sabella ...

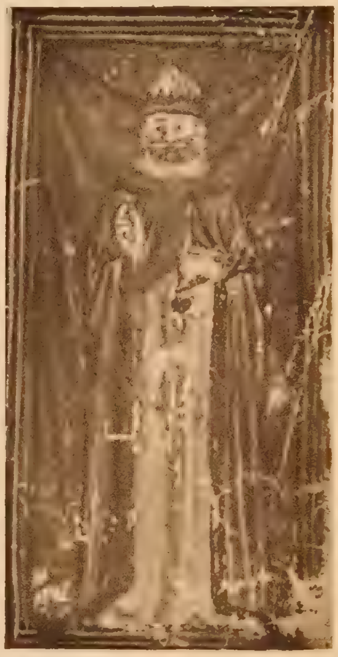
GRIMALDI'S COPIES OF PORTRAITS.



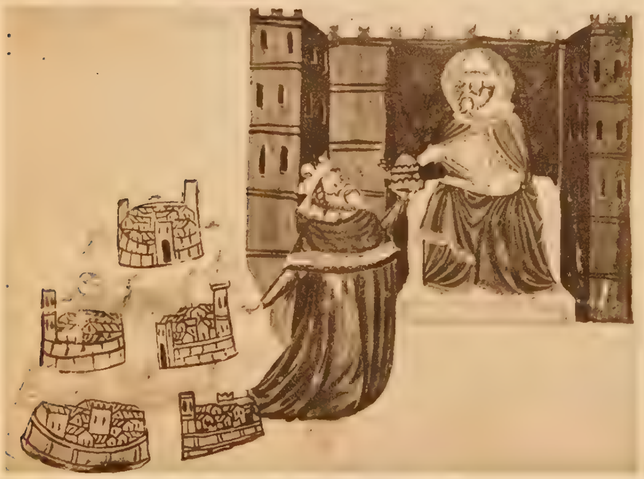
HONORIUS III.



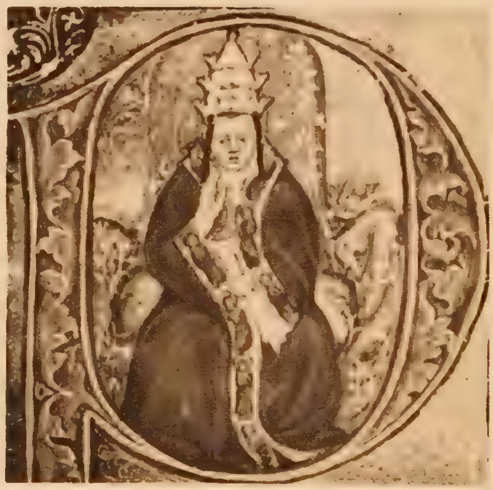
GREGORY IX.



INNOCENT VI.

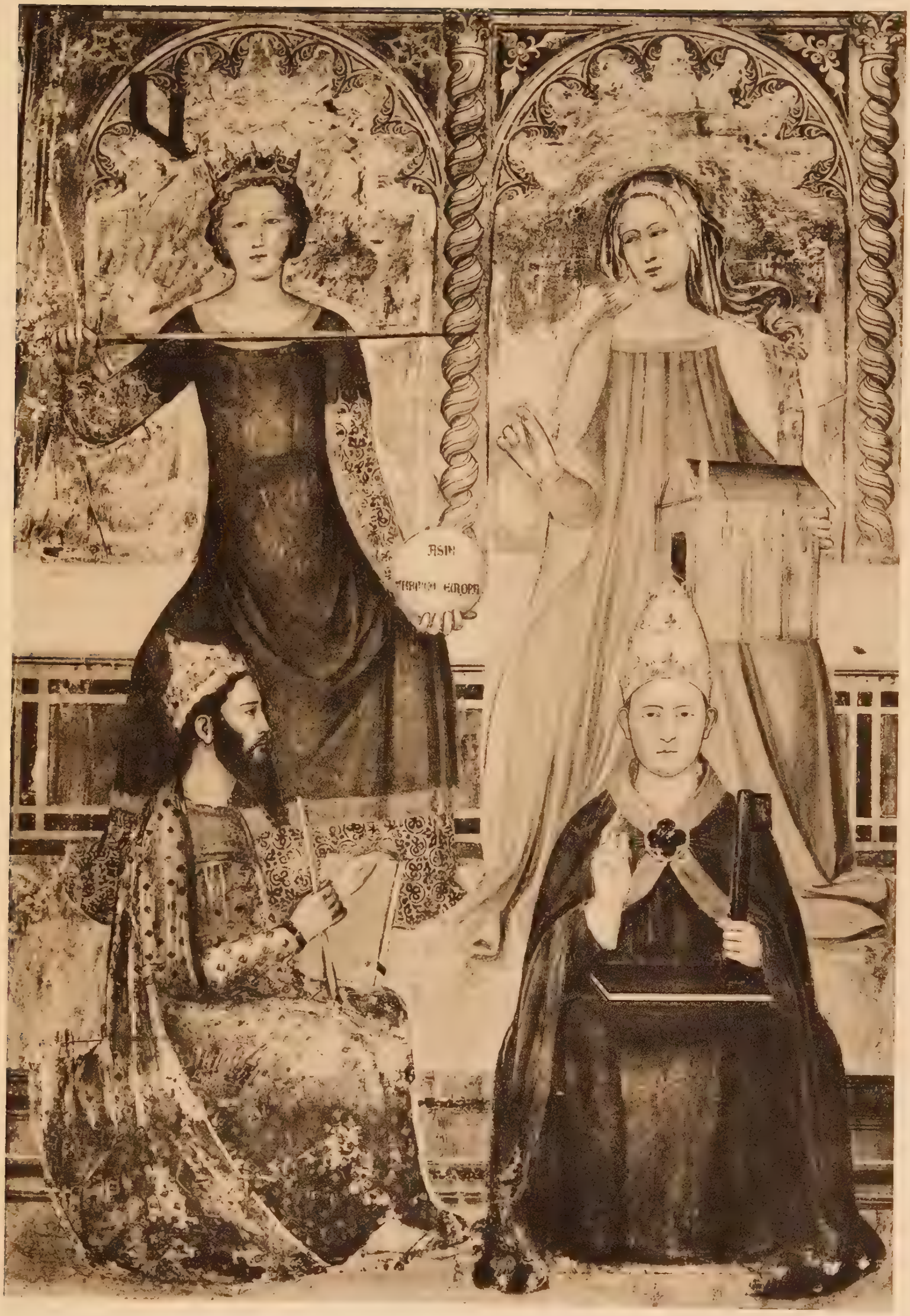


INNOCENT VI.



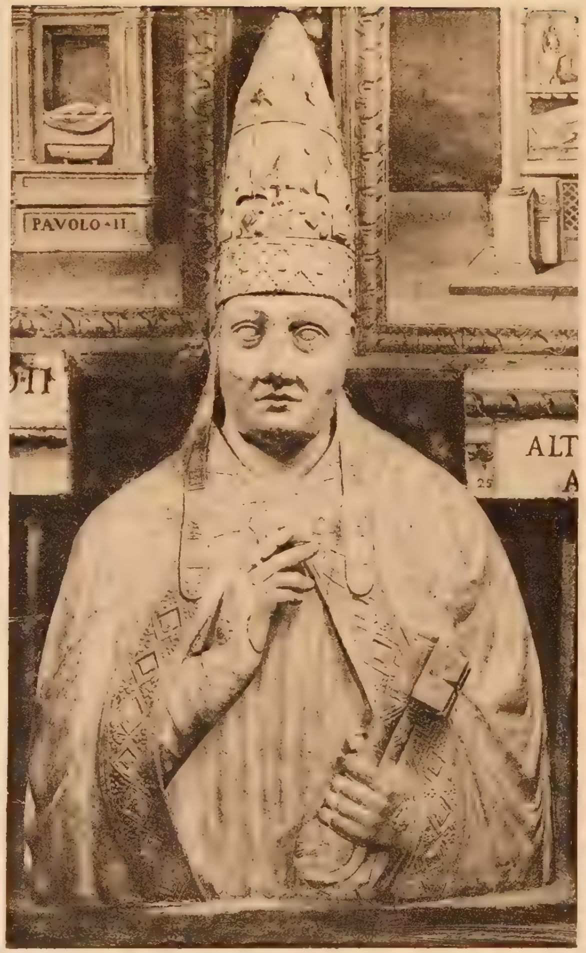
CLEMENT VI.

PORTRAITS IN MOSAICS AND MINIATURES.

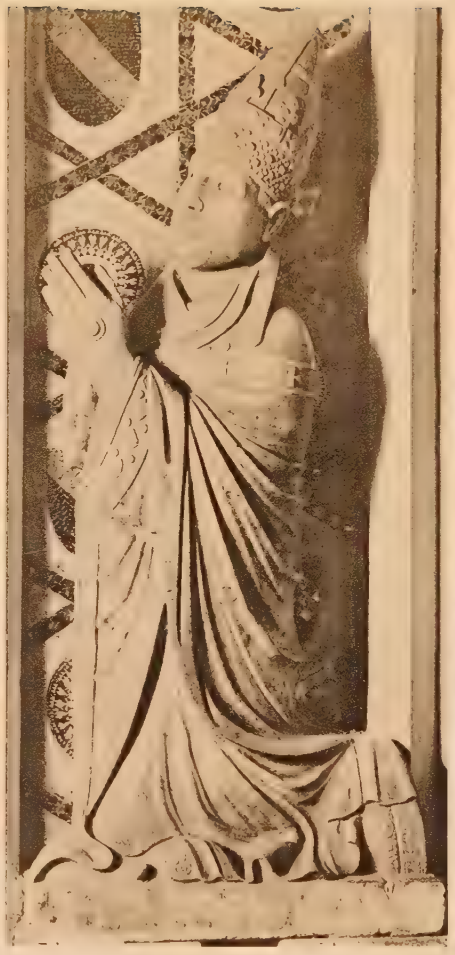


BENEDICT XI. BY ANDREA DI BUONAIUTO.

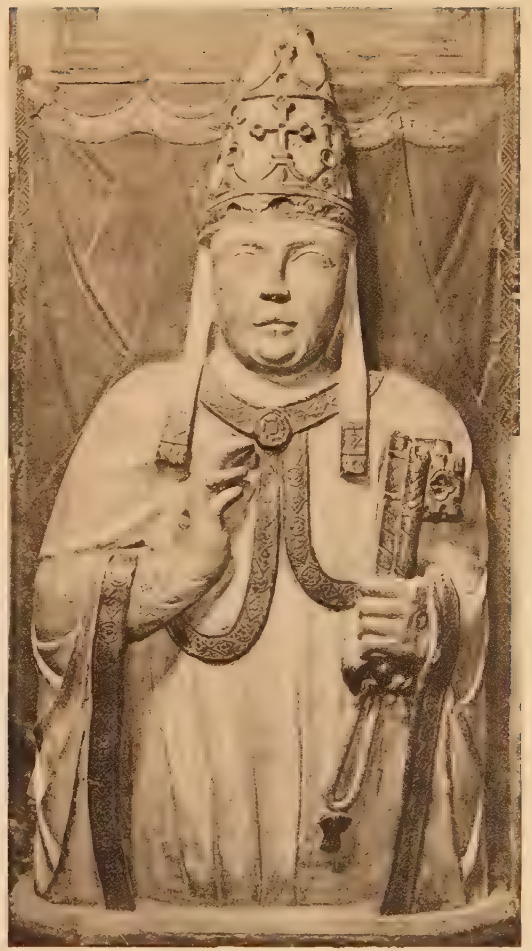
FLORENCE CHAPTER-HOUSE OF S MARIA NOVELLA



1.–BONIFACE VIII.



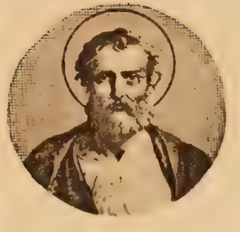
2. BONIFACE IX.

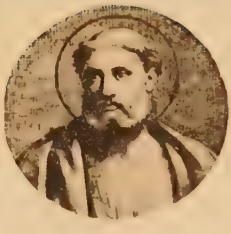


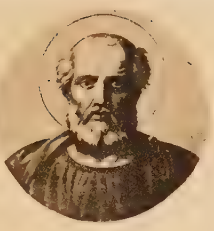
3.–BENEDICT XII.

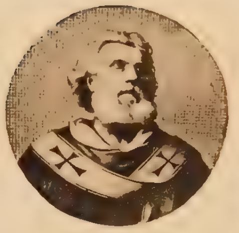
1 AND 3 VATICAN CRYPT

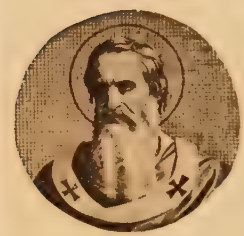
2. S. JOHN LATERAN

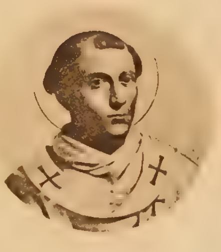

FELIX II.

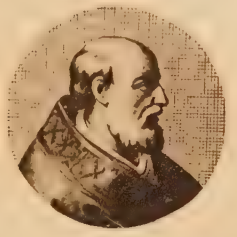

SIRICIUS

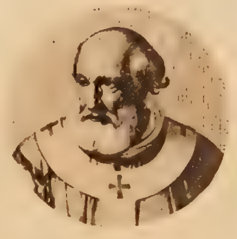

INNOCENT I

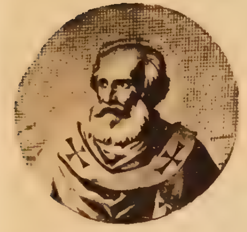

PELAGIUS I.

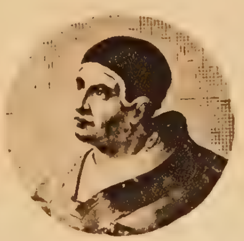

LEO III.


GREGORY IV.


HONORIUS III.


GREGORY IX.


NICHOLAS III.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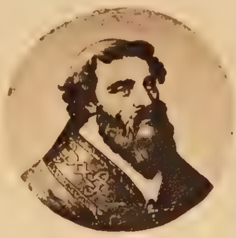
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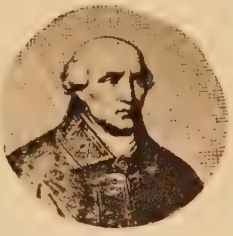
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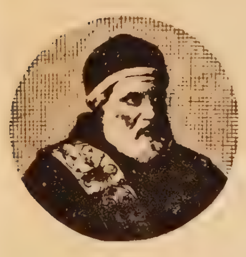
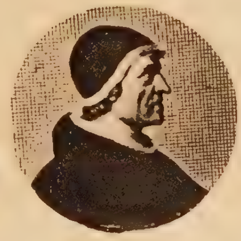

BENEDICT XII.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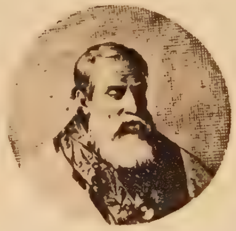
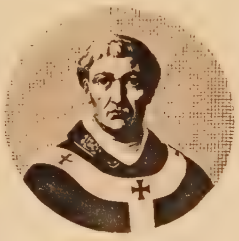
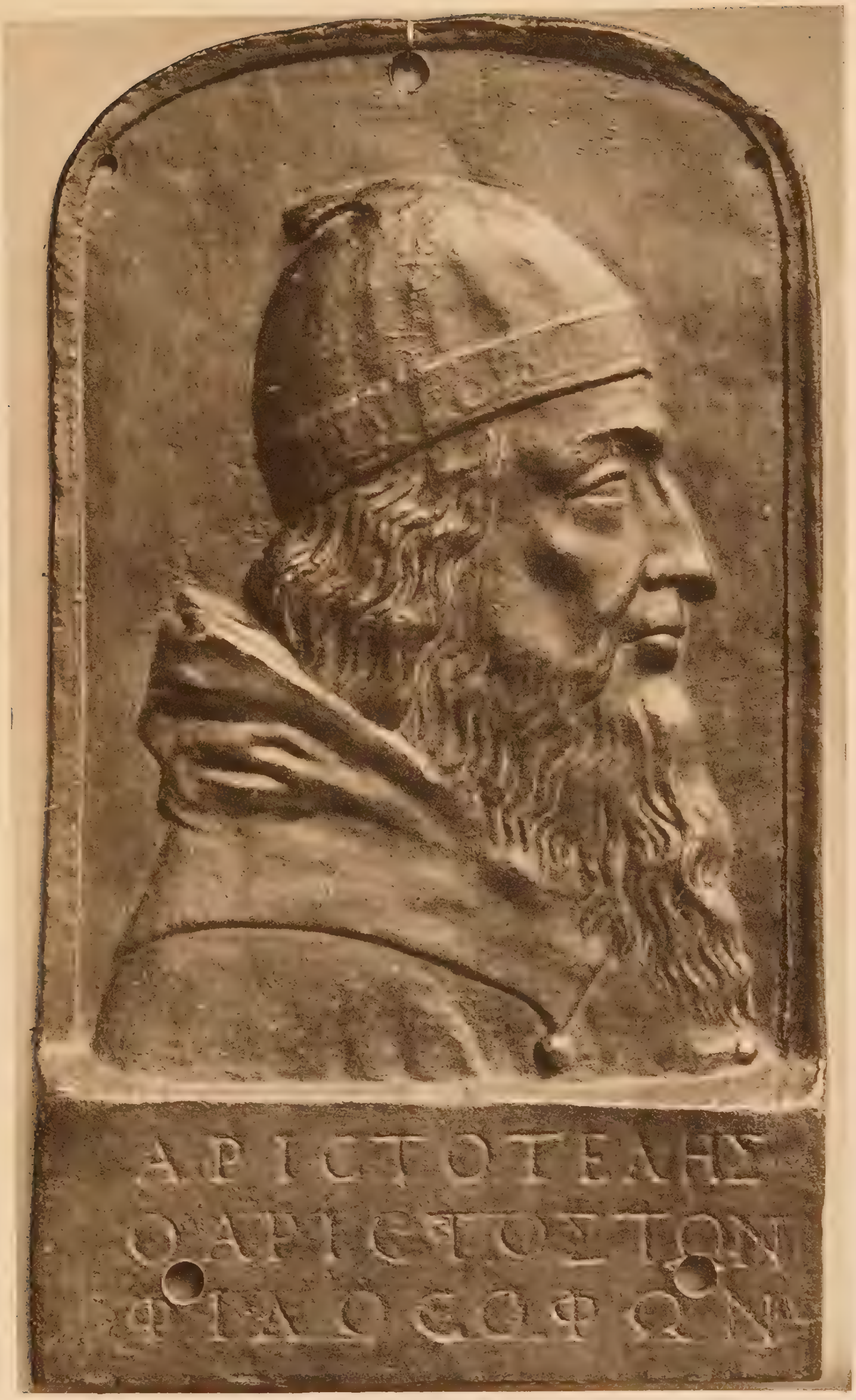

URBAN V.

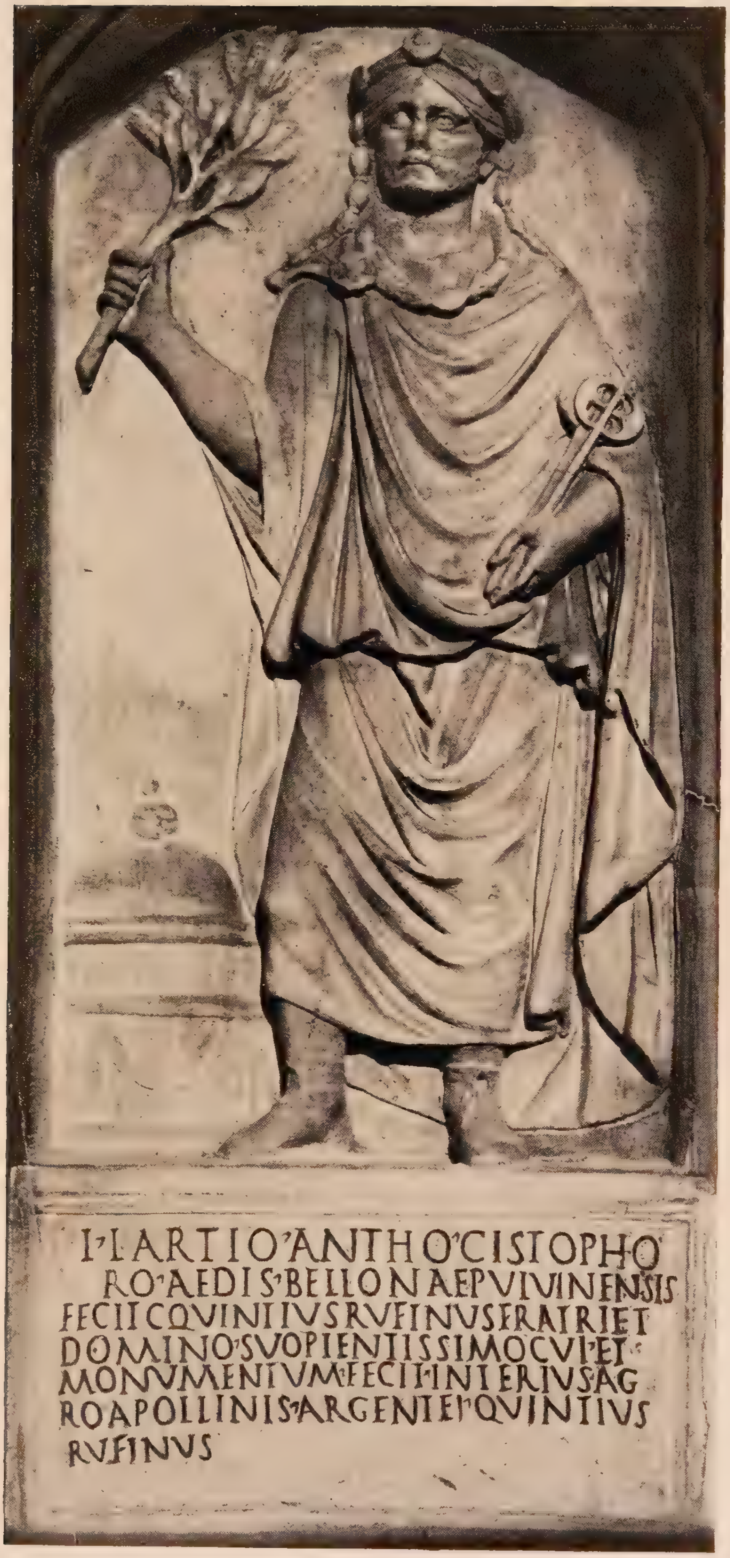

URBAN VI.

SPECIMEN PORTRAITS FROM MOSAICS IN S. PAUL'S OUTSIDE-THE-WALLS.



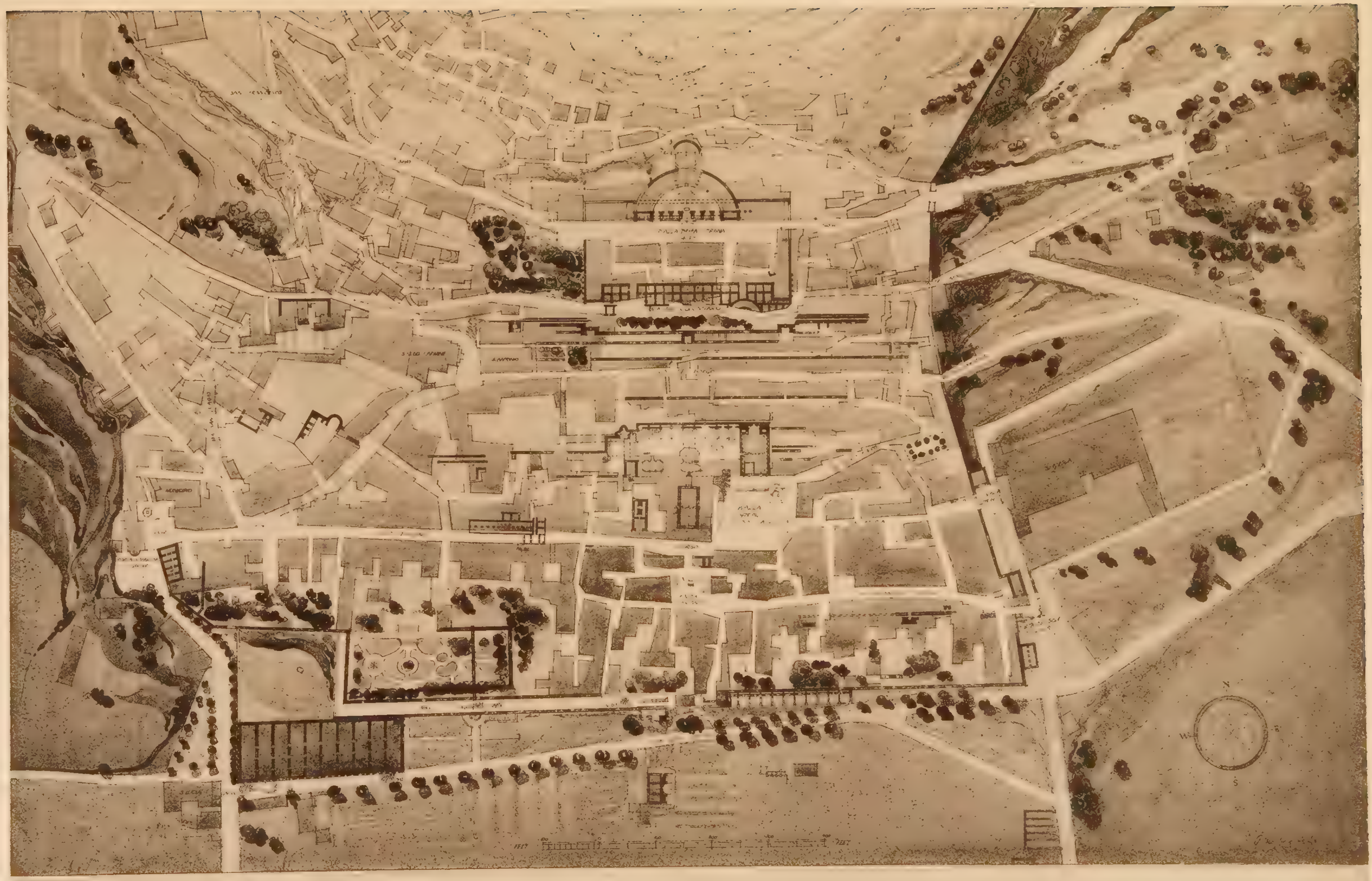
BRONZE PLAQUE FORMERLY IN THE ENGLISH COLLEGE AT ROME.

ROSENHEIM COLLECTION.

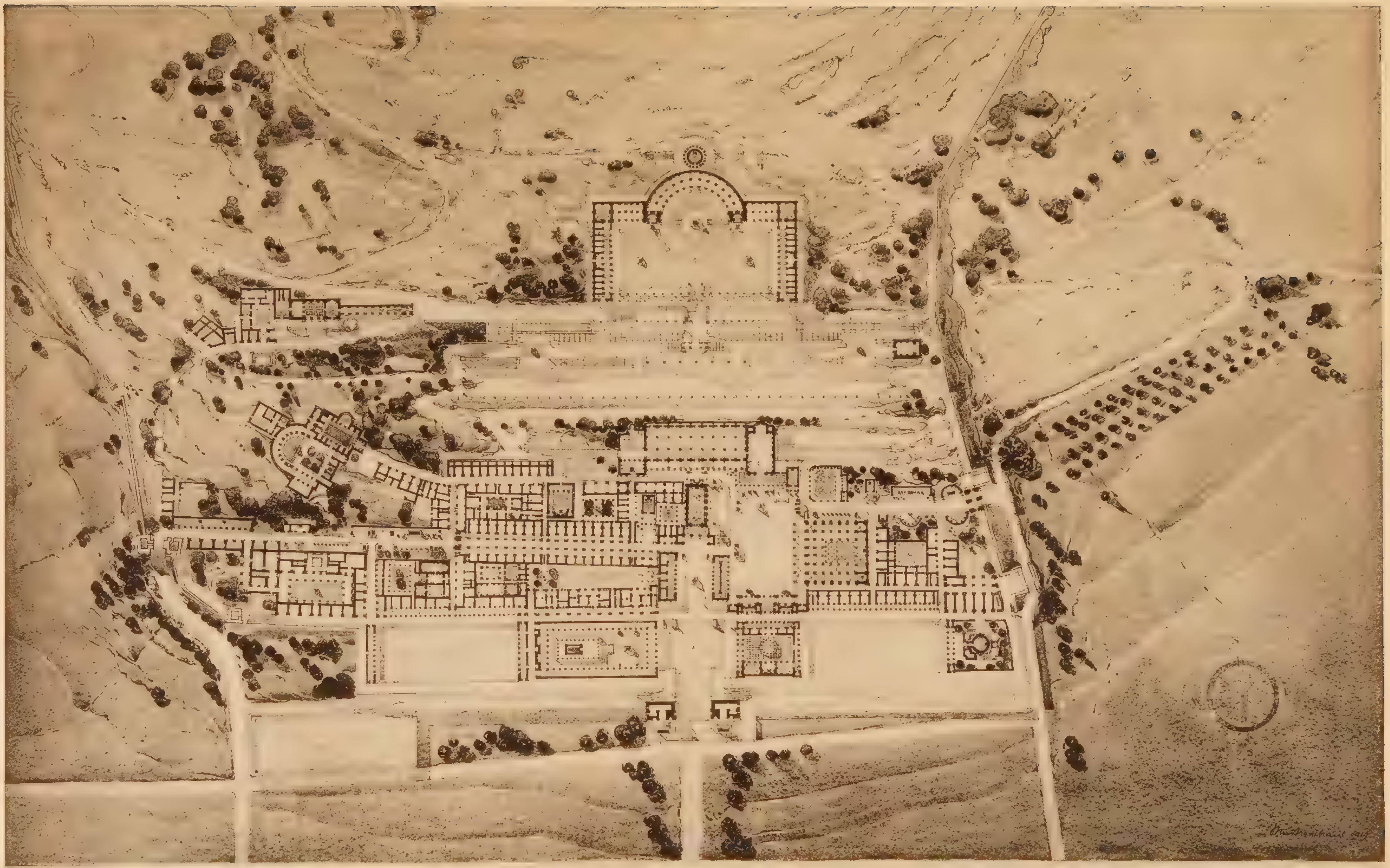

L·LARTIO·ANTHO·CISTOPHO
RO·AEDIS·BELLONAE·PVLVINENSIS
FECIT C QVINTIVS RVFINVS FRATRI ET
DOMINO·SVO PIENTISSIMO CVI·ET
MONVMENTVM·FECIT·INTERIVS·AG
RO APOLLINIS·ARGENTEI·QVINTIVS
RVFINVS

MARBLE RELIEF OF A PRIEST OF BELLONA

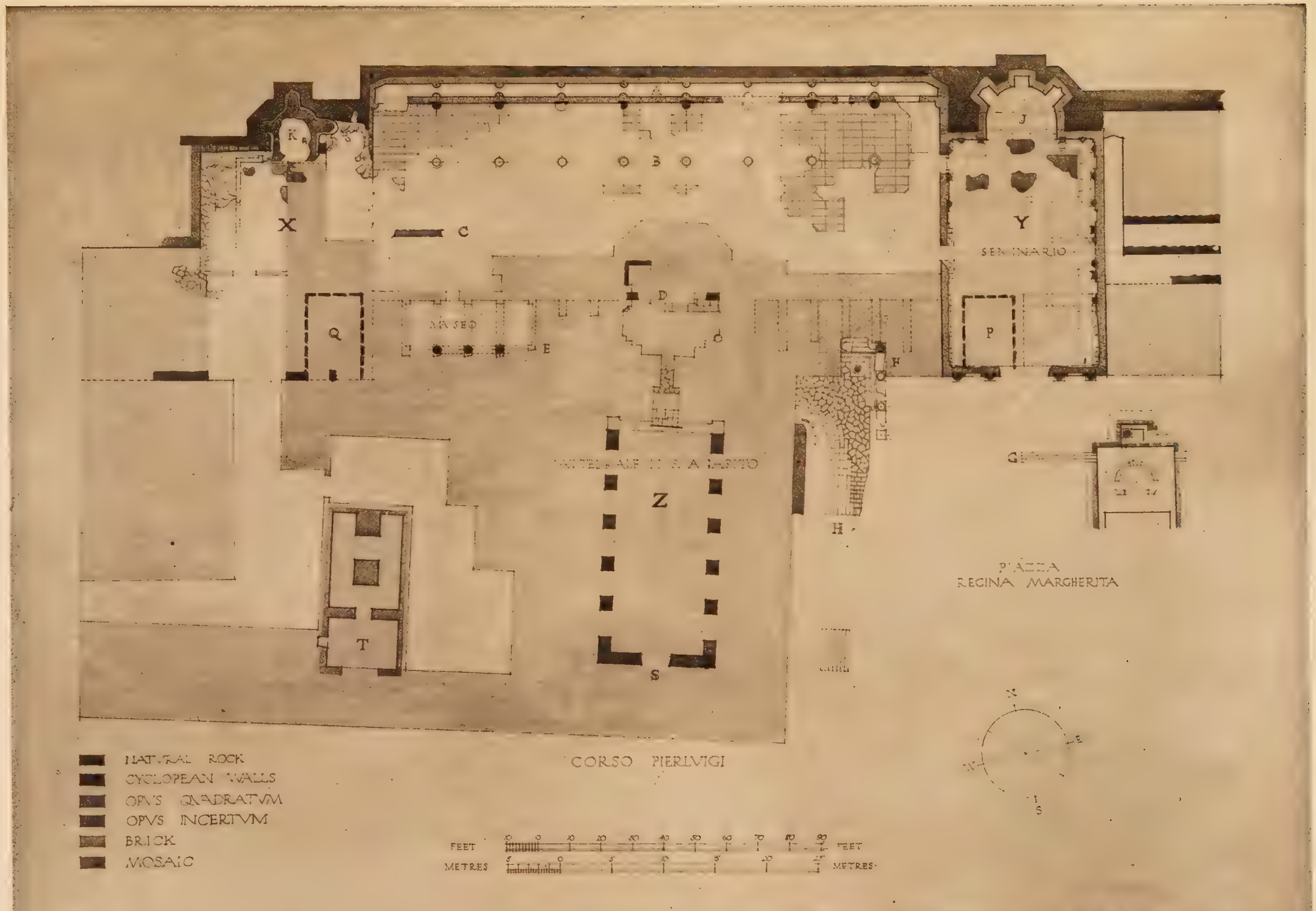
Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana.



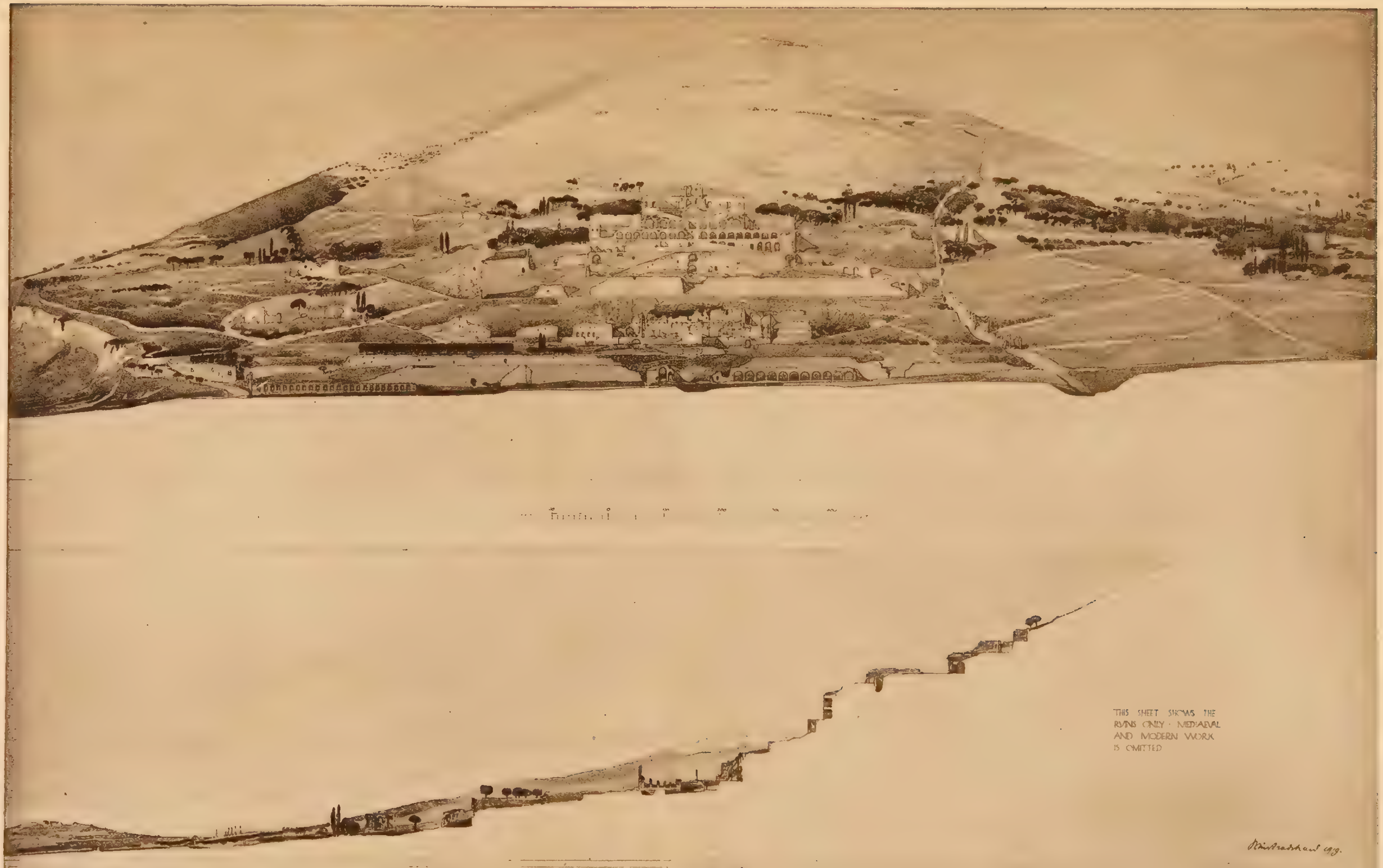
PLAN OF PRAENESTE ACTVAL STATE



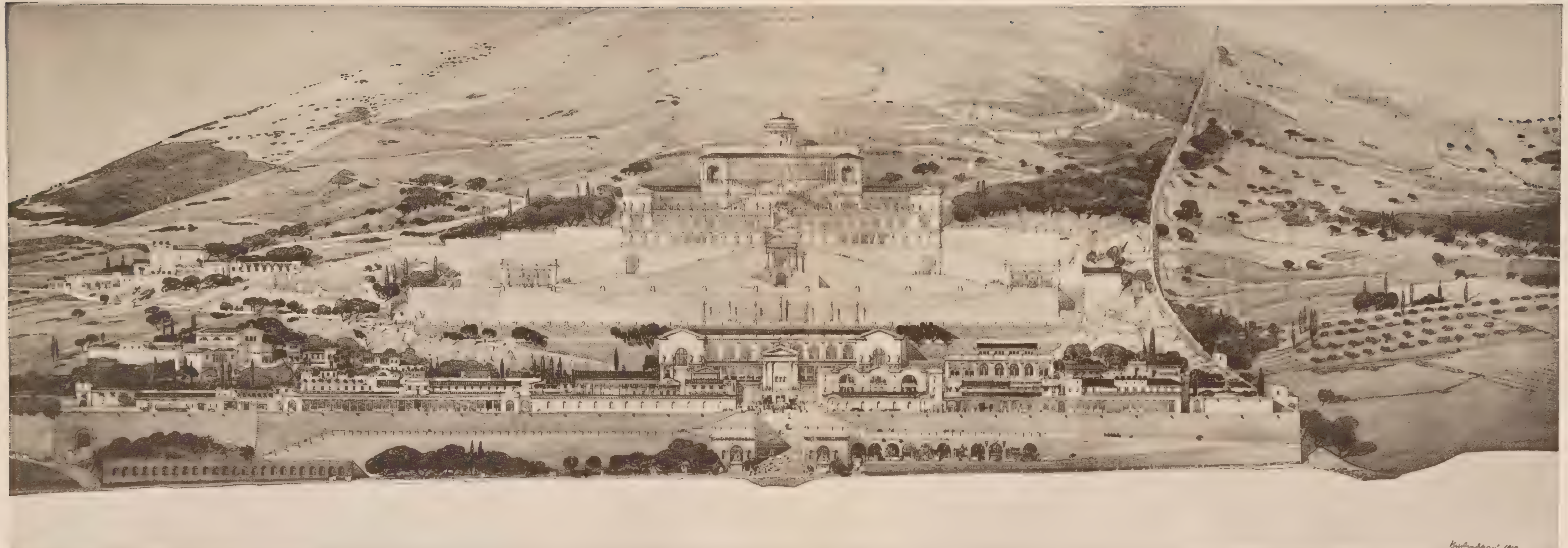
PLAN OF TEMPLE OF FORTVNE AT PRAENESTE AND ITS SVRROVNDINGS RESTORED



DETAIL OF ACTVAL STATE OF TEMPLE OF FORTVNE PRAENESTE



ELEVATION AND SECTION PRAENESTE ACTVAL STATE



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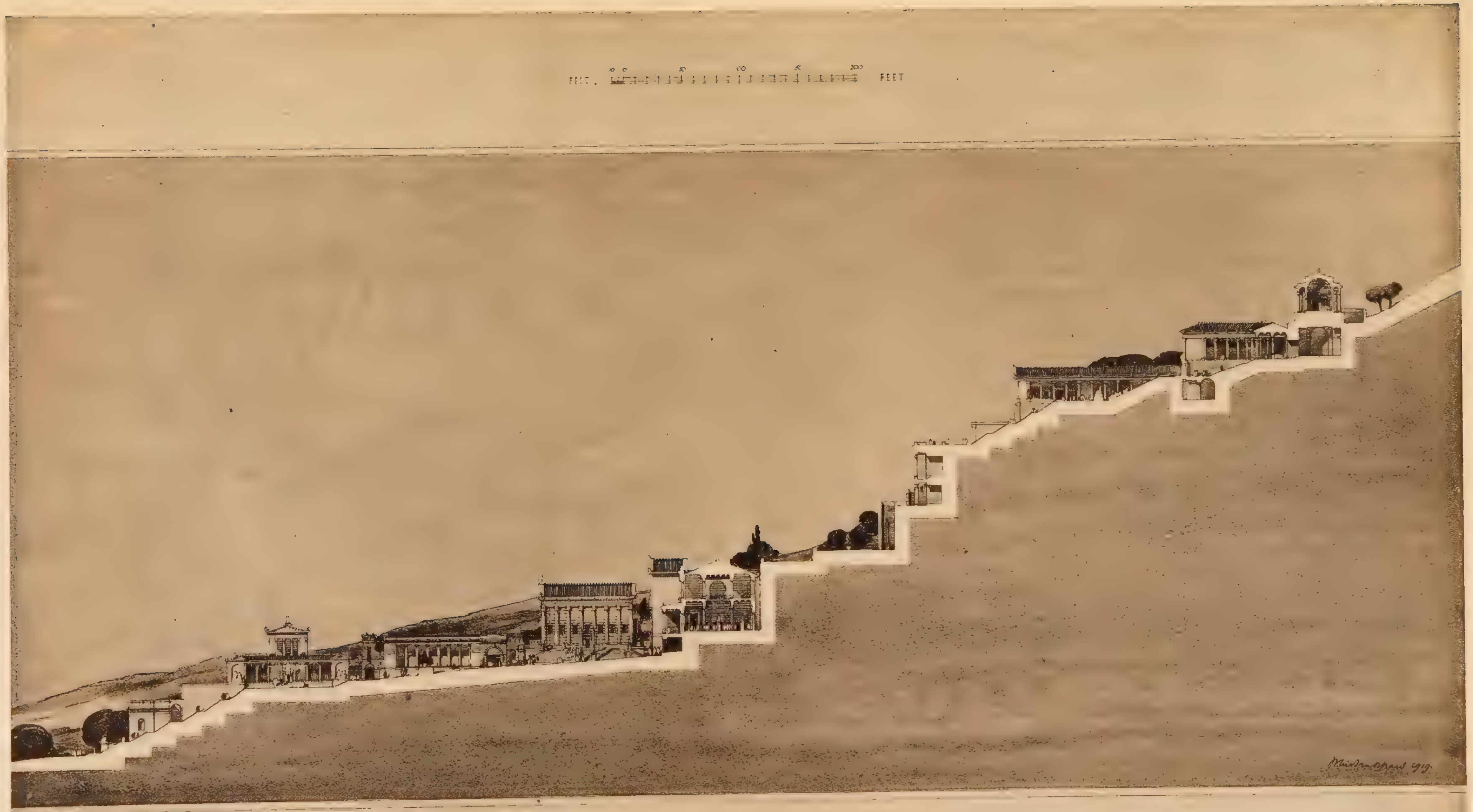
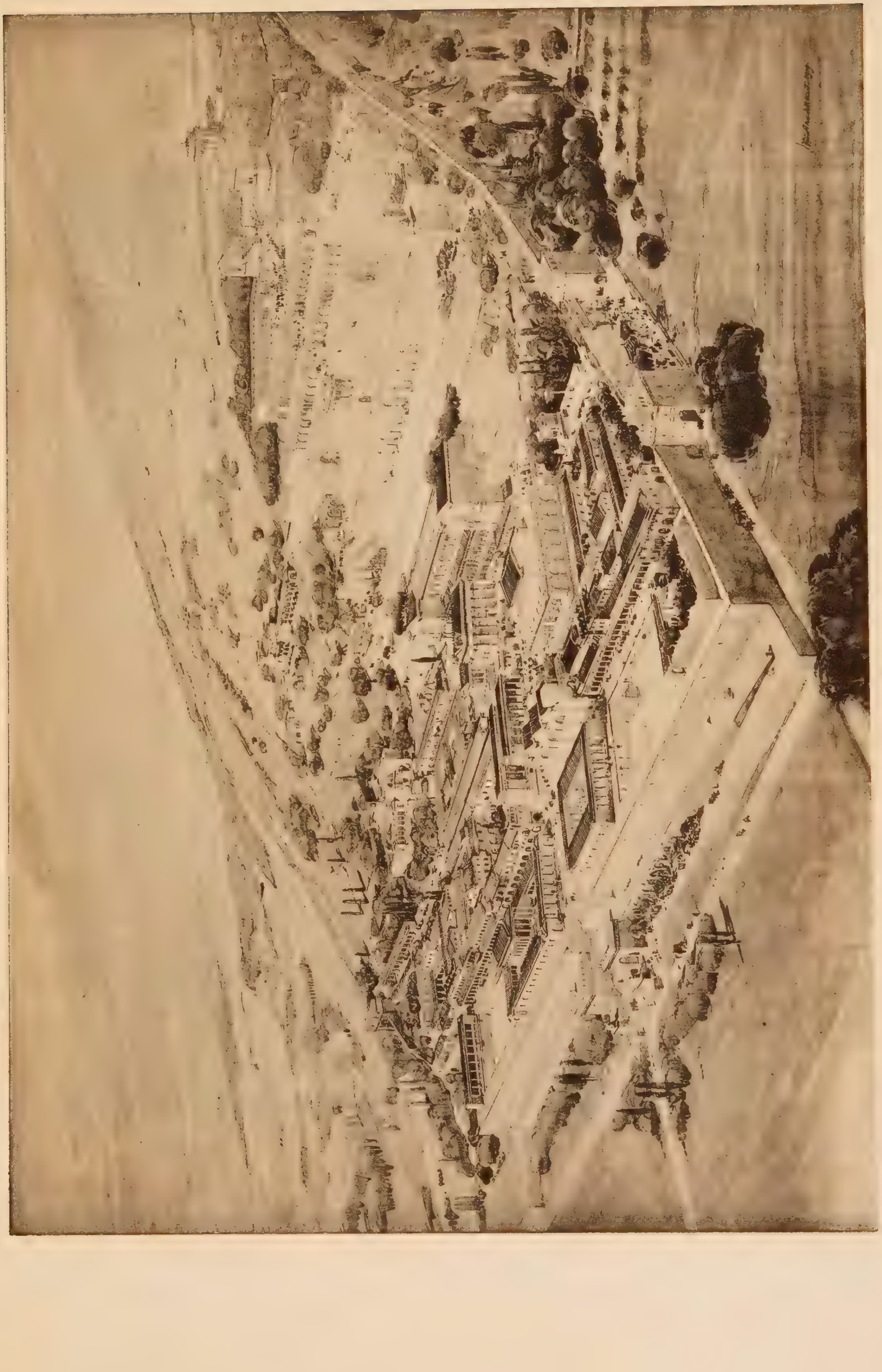
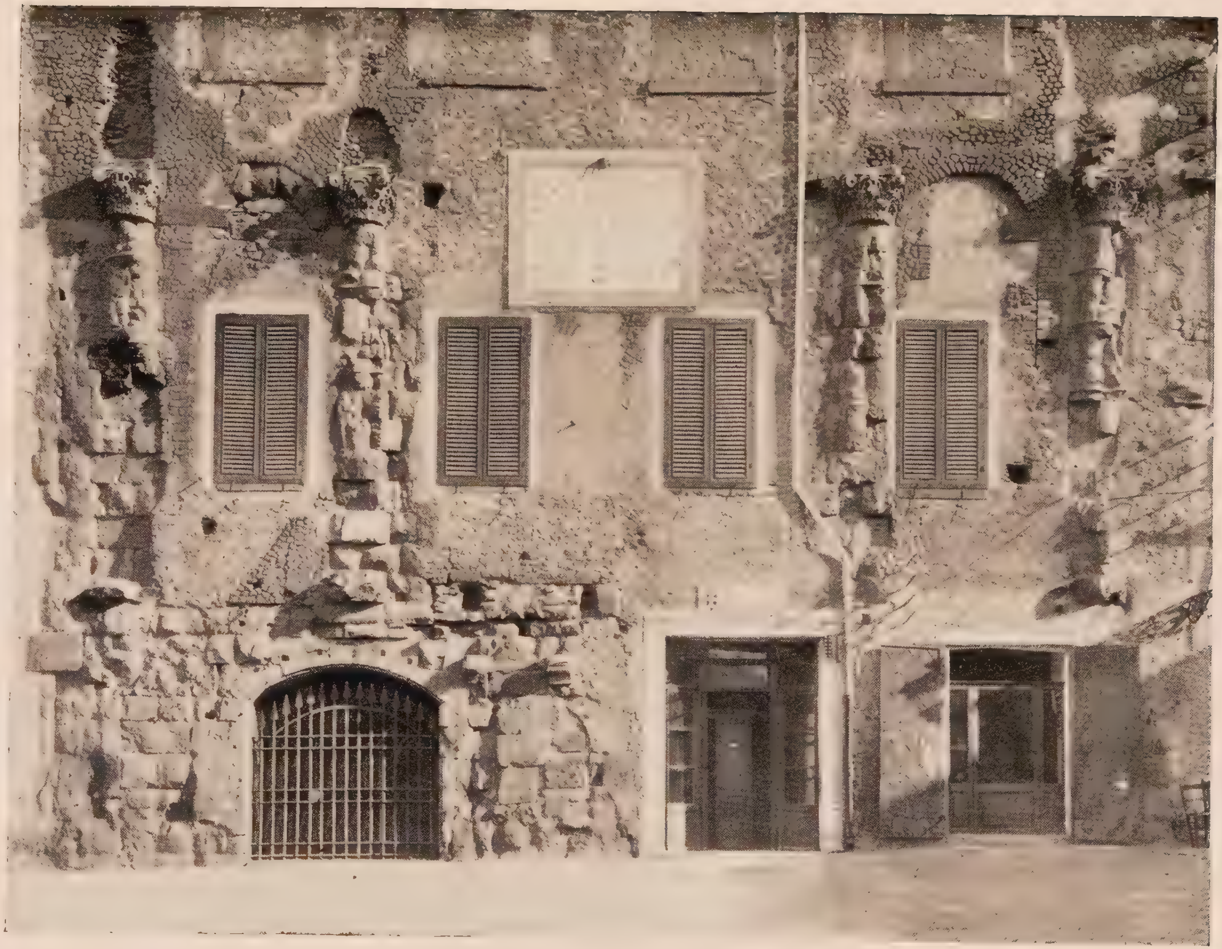
ELEVATION OF TEMPLE OF FORTVNE AT PRAENESTE AND ITS SVRROVNDINGS RESTORED



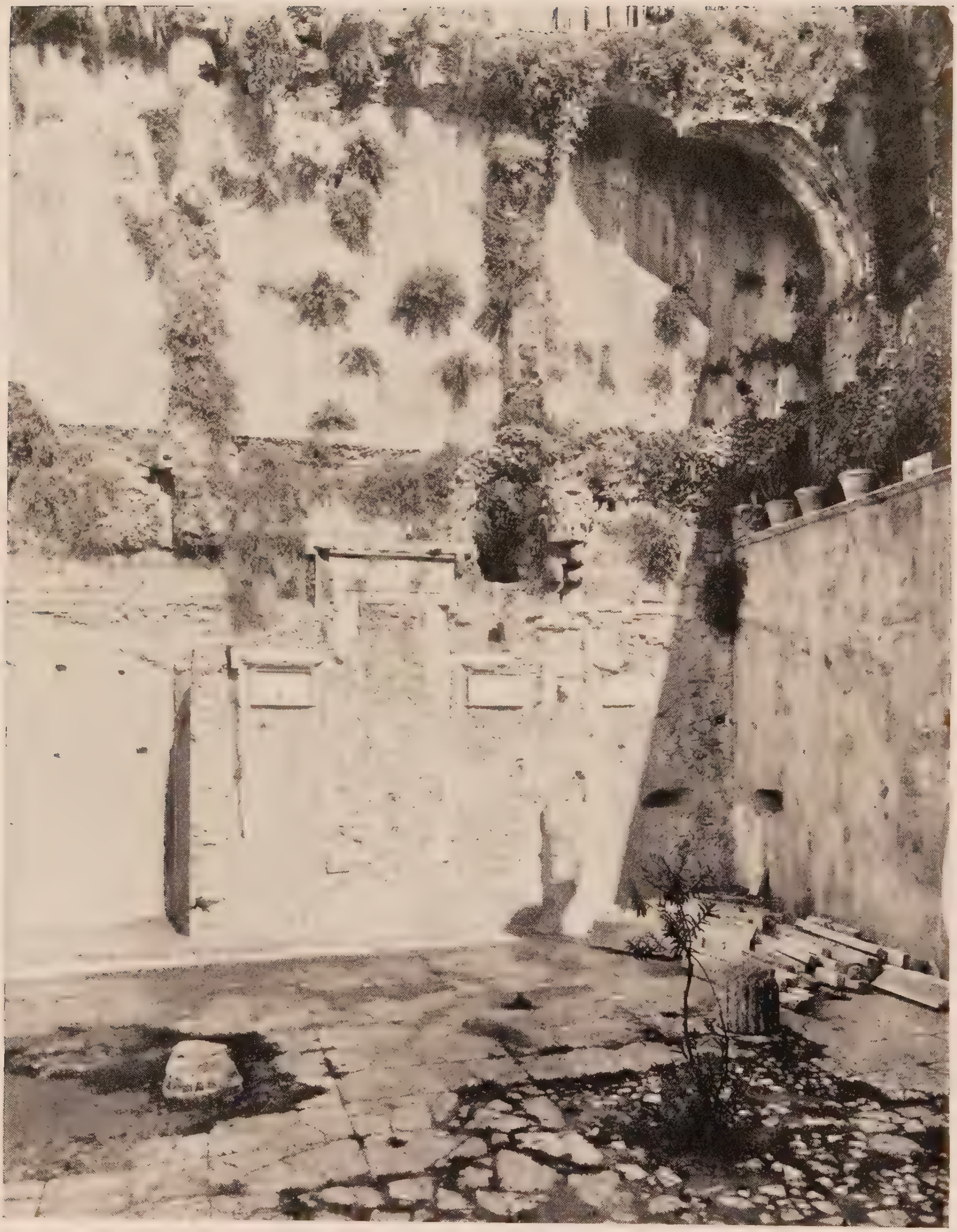
SECTION PRAENESTE RESTORED



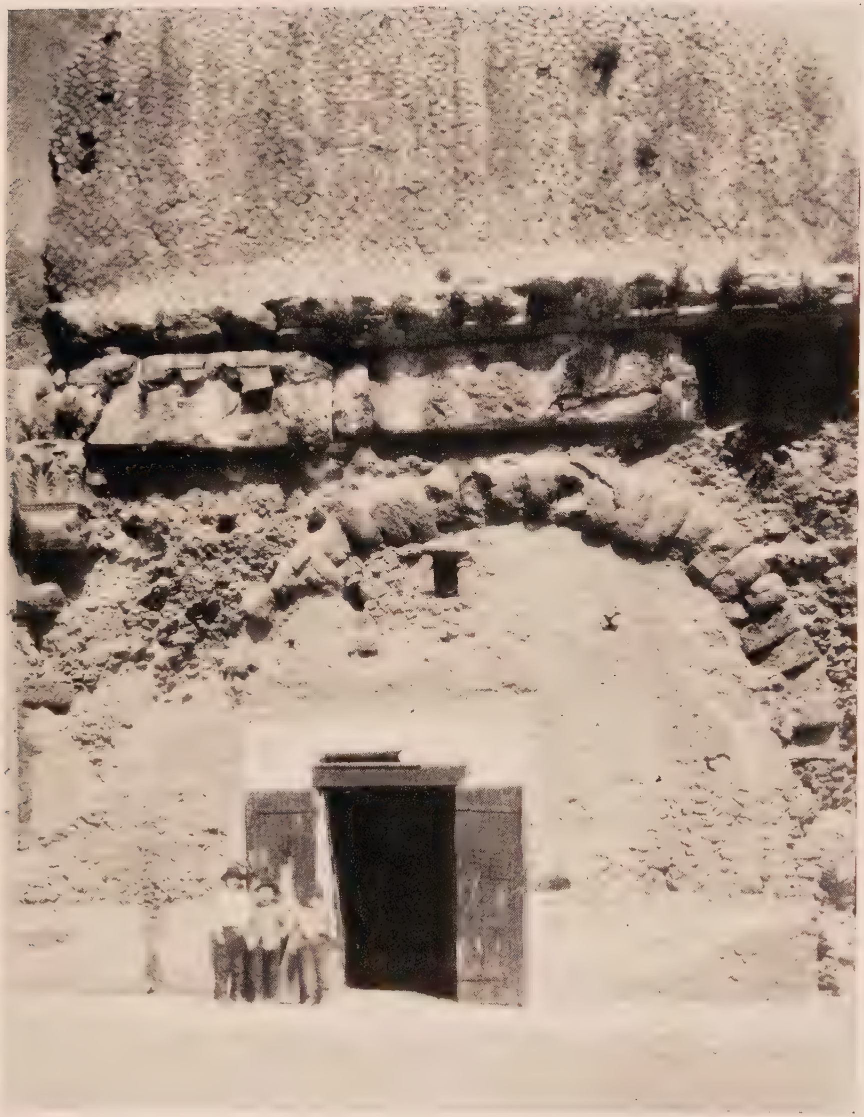
GENERAL VIEW OF PRAENESTE RESTORED.



PRAENESTE: THE TEMPLE OF FORTUNE, NOW A SEMINARY



PRAENESTE: NORTH WALL OF SPACE BETWEEN GROTTOS SHOWING WINDOW OPENINGS AND ARCHES



PRAENESTE: DETAIL OF ARCADE OF UPPER TEMPLE

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